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After a general statement on approach (including information on background, rationale, difficulties, and purpose), this description of a detailed, exploratory, developmental study of the utilization of low income paraprofessional school personnel in an upward mobility program is divided into two phases. The first phase, defining role development and training, is a composite of 15 demonstration projects (including a section on the analysis of role perception) and detailed studies of two institutes for the training of auxiliary personnel. Presented as phase two of the study is an in-depth description of five continuing projects. Focusing on the effective utilization of paraprofessionals in meaningful tasks (involving direct contact with pupils to aid the teaching-learning process) as a foundation on which to build a comprehensive program of career development, the projects analyze the process of institutionalization of the auxiliary personnel. The five continuing projects are presented as case studies including detailed information on the community; the objectives, origins, research designs, methodology, and the results of the projects; and the roles, functions, criteria for selection, training, and demographic data of the paraprofessionals. Also included are recommendations for more effective use of ideas developed in the study and the implications of the study for the value of teamwork in education. (SM)

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new careers and roles in the american school

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Bank Street College of Education was founded in 1916 as an institute for educational research and school experimentation. Preparation of teachers has been a central function of the program for 30 years. Other major undertakings of the College are research in education and human development, experimental schools, field services to the public schools, and the publication of professional literature.

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PREFACE

Bank Street College of Education conducted a study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education for the Office of Economic Opportunity. A preliminary report of Phase One of the Study was distributed in response to many requests for information received by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the United States Office of Education. It was based on analyses of 15 demonstration programs and on consultations with representatives of professional organizations and school systems. This document, the final report, includes analyses in some depth of five continuing programs.

The College appreciates the cooperation of the participating institutions and school systems, and is grateful for the guidance of the consultants and advisers who have given so generously of their time and professional wisdom, and for the cooperation of the auxiliary personnel, without whose interest and frank reactions this Study would have had little meaning.

The College is also appreciative of the innovative and highly effective approach of the Office of Economic Opportunity to the development of new modes of interaction among people of various skills, training and potential, as they focus upon the right of every child to learn.

John H. Niemeyer
President
BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

I. THE APPROACH

"Act as men of thought;
think as men of action."
–Henri Bergson

Recent manifestations of physical violence and verbal protest give tangible evidence that many segments of the population are dissatisfied with their role and status in the economic and social fabric of society. Many hold the school chiefly responsible for the current unrest and strife through its failure to respond to the changing ethos and to the insistent demand for true equality of opportunity. Further, they contend that the school has given inadequate response to the shifting vocational scene and the demands of advanced technology. Change, they say, is evident in all facets of evolving life except the organization, personnel and process of the American school: the school's relationship to the community, its design and structure, its staff and people are not in pace with the expectations of the new community. Finally, they hold that the human equation in the classroom–the teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction–has, with rare exceptions, remained fixed and immutable.

Many of these charges are not new. None can be dismissed without consideration. Many educators themselves believe that one causative factor in the prevailing rigidity in school systems is that persons who have been successful in traditional patterns of teaching behavior are the standard setters, the evaluators of new staff, and the decision makers in school. Another dynamic in the resistance to educational change is the overemphasis by school systems, by professional associations and by many educational researchers upon role differentiation–that process whereby professionals are set apart with particular reference to status and role prerogatives. Such a process usually involves rigid definition of functions universally applied, regardless of particular needs and available resources in a given situation at a given time.

THE APPROACH

Several convergent forces have had catalytic impact on the static and self-perpetuating structure of the educational enterprise:

- The gap between expanded needs for school services and the availability of professional personnel to meet these needs reached critical proportions in the late sixties;
- New dimensions in educational concepts and technology required a more complex role for teachers;
- Heightened awareness of the special learning needs of young children, and a developing insight into the communication blocks that often exist between middle-class professionals and disadvantaged children called for closer linkage of school and community;
- The plight of the undereducated person, unable to compete in an increasingly automated society pointed to the need for a new entry level to careers of human service with opportunity for upward mobility on the job;
- Finally, and most importantly, new resources became available to school systems through OEO, MDTA, Title I of ESEA, the Nelson-Scheuer Amendment to the Poverty Act, and the Javits-Kennedy Act for Impacted Areas, all of which provided Federal funds for the employment of low-income persons who lacked the traditional certification for education.

The response to these interrelated educational and social developments was the creation of the "New Careers Movement." The term derives from a book by Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman entitled *New Careers for the Poor: The Nonprofessional in Human Services* (New York, The Free Press, 1965). This is a movement to recognize and establish new qualifications for careers in the human services so that economically and educationally disadvantaged persons have the opportunity for upward mobility in careers instead of frustrating dead-end jobs of a menial nature. This career concept is one of the essentially innovative components of the current thrust toward the utilization of paraprofessionals in the public service, which has captured the imagination of many seminal thinkers in American education.

THE BACKGROUND

The training and utilization of relatively unskilled low-income workers in the public service is not a new phenomenon.

In the United States an organized program based on this concept was first developed under the Works Projects Administration and the National Youth Administration more than thirty years ago. Particular emphasis was placed on this concept in the NYA, when unemployed out-of-school youth as well as potential drop-outs were trained and placed as nonprofessionals in the human services. Terminated in 1943, the NYA appeared to have no concrete programmatic follow-up for the continued utilization of auxiliary personnel, but the idea had been implanted in this country and its application was progressively strengthened during the 1940's in the fields of corrections and health.

In 1953, the first major experiment in utilization of auxiliary personnel in American education was undertaken in Bay City, Michigan, with funds from the Ford Foundation. This program was designed to increase teacher effectiveness by freeing teachers from disproportionate nonprofessional functions. Two similar studies followed shortly, also financed by the Ford Foundation–the Yale-Fairfield (Connecticut) Study and the Rutgers (New Jersey) Plan.[1] These experiments were aimed at assisting administrators in preserving quality education in the face of severe shortage of professional personnel, the rising costs of education and the problems of oversized classes. The teaching profession appeared to react negatively on the whole to an employment device which would assign available educational funds to the employment of untrained personnel rather than to the employment of more teachers. Some observers believe that the resistance created among teachers by the emphasis on budgetary considerations in the Bay City experiment retarded progress in the development of auxiliary personnel in school systems for at least a decade. Others see this experiment as a milestone in the history of this movement.

Many less ambitious projects followed but no major breakthrough occurred in the late fifties and early sixties.

In the mid-sixties, the employment of auxiliary personnel in schools and in other human services rose sharply, responding primarily to the availability of Federal funds on a massive scale for such purposes in the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Office of Education and the Labor Department, as a part of Congressional implementation of the overall war on poverty.

The centrality of creating jobs for the unemployed in the NYA approach, and the emphasis upon budgetary considerations which prevailed in the Bay City experiment had not produced lasting results. The planners of the current new careers movement sought a rationale and a focus which would have more lasting impact. A salient dimension of the new approach was the emphasis on the right of all persons to essential human services. This was coupled with an increased awareness of the paucity of existing services and the extent of human needs.

A second innovation in the planning for auxiliary personnel in the current scene was the shift from the creation of entry level jobs leading nowhere, to the concept of a *career ladder*, with training available at each step for those who seek and merit upward mobility.

A third and vital difference between the current and previous programs for utilization of auxiliary personnel lay in the emphasis upon the involvement of low-income workers as participants in the process of problem-solving, rather than as recipients of the wisdom and beneficence of those far removed from the realities of poverty. This approach has been variously described as the "consumer as participant" concept or–to borrow a definition from the field of corrections–"using the products of a social problem in coping with the problem."

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[1] *Decade of Experiment: 1951-61*, New York: The Fund for the Advancement of Education, the Ford Foundation, 1961, pp. 431-67.

A fourth essential component of the new careers movement was a more systematic approach to the program, including role development, training and institutionalization of auxiliary personnel as a stable and integral part of public service.

It is to the fourth concern that this Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education is directed. The Study is based on the assumptions that: 1) role development is a dynamic of each learning situation rather than an ineluctable pattern of functions, status and prerogatives; 2) employment without training of both paraprofessionals and the professionals with whom they are to work militates against the desired outcomes; and 3) institutionalization of auxiliary personnel into the structure of public service is a prime requisite for productivity of the new careers movement.

To support these assumptions, this introductory section will review the basic rationale for the application of the new careers movement to the field of education, identify some of the difficulties which may be faced, and summarize the major implications of the Study.

RATIONALE FOR THE UTILIZATION OF AUXILIARY PERSONNEL IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Today educators are seeking a clarification of the rationale for the utilization of auxiliary school personnel, not as a temporary expedient or palliative but in terms of the long-range goals of the educational enterprise. Education which is relevant for each individual child has sometimes been viewed as ideal but impractical. Such education seems to others as one of the attainable goals to be achieved through the improved utilization of all school personnel–professional and nonprofessional.

This Study attempted to explore the whole range of educational roles and functions in two ways: 1) inductively, through the development, coordination and analysis of fifteen demonstration programs in the training and collaborative utilization of professionals and nonprofessionals, and 2) deductively, through consultations with outstanding educators and with experts from related disciplines. The purpose of the consultations was to encourage normative thinking in response to such questions as: "Should the school system be required to solve all the social problems of our time?" and to the related question: "Is the utilization of low-income workers as auxiliary school personnel aimed primarily at creating jobs for the poor, at coping with acute shortage of professional manpower, or at helping to meet the needs of pupils?"

To those who conducted demonstration training programs during 1966-67, and to the experts consulted, the answer appears to be that the essential criterion of any innovation in education is whether it helps to meet the learning and developmental needs of children and youth. However, they believed that the learning-teaching process can be truly effective only in relation to a consideration of the totality of the child's experience. The school, like every other institution, operates within a social context, not in isolation.

The sponsors of the demonstration programs believed that even if there were no shortage of teachers, the introduction of more adults into the classroom would enhance the quality of education, if they were adults selected on the basis of their concern for children and their potential as collaborators in the learning-teaching process rather than primarily on the basis of previous training. They saw great possibilities in the professional-nonprofessional team enabling the teachers to differentiate education so as to meet the individual needs of pupils, as diagnosed by the teacher. They saw, too, in this multi-level team approach escape from rigid structuring in the classroom—for example, more freedom of movement, more small groupings, more independent activities than would be feasible for one person often operating under difficult teaching conditions. In fact, the teacher might, with this assistance, be able to experiment with innovative techniques otherwise impossible.

In summary, the multiple benefits which were perceived as possible in all school situations, regardless of the composition of the school population of the socio-economic background of the auxiliaries, were:

1. *For the pupil*, by providing more individual attention by concerned adults, more mobility in the classroom, and more opportunity for innovation;
2. *For the teacher* by rendering his role more productive in terms of pupil outcome, and more manageable in terms of teaching conditions;
3. *For the other professionals*, by increasing the scope and effectiveness of their activities;
4. *For the auxiliary*, by providing meaningful employment which contributes to his own development and to the needs of society;
5. *For the school administrator*, by providing some solution—not necessarily *the* solution—to his dilemma of increasing needs for school services, coupled with shortage of professionals to meet these needs;
6. *For family life*, by giving auxiliaries, many of whom are or may someday be parents, the opportunity to learn child development principles in a real situation;
7. *For the community at large*, by providing a means through which unemployed and educationally disadvantaged persons may enter the mainstream of productivity.

In addition to these considerations, there are some specific benefits which may flow from the utilization of indigenous personnel as auxiliaries in schools serving disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The auxiliary who has lived in disadvantaged environments often speaks to the disadvantaged child or youth in a way that is neither strange nor threatening. He may help the new pupil adjust to the unfamiliar world of the school without undue defensiveness and fill the gaps, if any, in his preparation for learning; the auxiliary may build upon the strengths of the pupil, which may have more relevance to the new situation than the child, himself, realizes. This cultural bridge is an asset even if there were no need to provide jobs for the poor.

Moreover, the low-income auxiliary, having overcome some of the difficulties and frustrations the child now faces, may motivate the child to further effort. His very presence in a role of some status in the school says to the child: "It can be done; it is worth trying to do; you, too can succeed here."

Naturally, this message would be imparted more forcefully if the faculty, too, were of mixed socio-economic background. As work-study programs become increasingly available, economic as well as ethnic and cultural integration may increase in school faculties.

Further, the auxiliary from the child's own neighborhood may be able to interpret to the middle-class professional some aspects of the behavior of a child who is nonresponding in school. The auxiliary may, in turn, interpret the goals of the school and the learning-teaching process to both parent and child. To reach the child for a few hours a day without reaching others who influence his mode of living may be of little avail. The parent who doesn't understand a school official sometimes may find help from a neighbor serving as a school auxiliary.

The fact that low-income auxiliaries often do facilitate communication between school and community does not dismiss the fact that every candidate for school employment should be carefully screened for those personal characteristics needed in work with children and youth. However, the demonstration programs reveal that a flexible and imaginative selection process may discover previously overlooked potential which may be developed as an asset in a school.

In summary, new dimensions in education call for the utilization of school personnel of various socio-economic backgrounds and at various levels of training working together as teams to meet needs in changing communities. Since economic, social and educational problems often have some common causes, a single solution may have multiple values. It may result in positive pupil outcomes and in socially useful outcomes as well. The utilization of low-income auxiliaries in disadvantaged areas appears to be a case in point. Its possibilities are many. Its real significance is only beginning to be explored.

This Study is designed to view these possibilities in terms of several reality situations, and to identify factors which seem to block or facilitate the realization of educational values from the utilization of auxiliaries in these specific situations.

DIFFICULTIES WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN THE UTILIZATION OF AUXILIARIES IN SCHOOLS

During the preplanning for the overall Study and for the demonstration programs, many professional and administrative concerns were discussed. Some of the anticipated difficulties were encountered; others proved to be mere conjecture. The fact that these possible problems had been considered in advance aided in their solution.

The difficulties anticipated in the training programs differed widely. For school administrators they were largely "how to" problems, such as establishing fiscal policies, setting up a new hierarchy of positions, with job descriptions, titles, salaries, increments, role prerogatives, and training requirements for advancement. Another problem, for the superintendent, was orienting the principals, who in turn were faced with the problem of interpreting the new program to the teachers and other professionals so that they would utilize rather than ignore, reject, or resent the auxiliaries. Superintendents had the task of determining who would conduct the training of both professionals and nonprofessionals and how to secure such personnel. Often all this had to be accomplished within and in spite of institutional rigidities. Moreover, the school administrator was responsible for involving local institutions of higher learning and the indigenous leadership in the planning for and interpretation of the new program to the Board and the community.

The professionals–teachers, supervisors, guidance counselors–were primarily concerned with maintaining professional standards. They wondered whether the auxiliaries might try to "take over," but they were even more concerned lest administrators, caught in the bind between increasing enrollment and decreasing availability of professional personnel, might assign to the auxiliaries functions that were essentially professional. The teachers believed that teacher-aides might be assigned to a class without the supervision of a certified professional. Teachers, particularly, questioned whether funds which might have been used to reduce the teaching load would be used instead to employ auxiliaries while increasing rather than decreasing the size of classes.

Some professionals also doubted that adequate time would be set aside during school hours for planning and evaluating with the auxiliaries assigned to them. Moreover, many professionals were not accustomed to the new leadership function being asked of them. Some felt threatened by another adult in the classroom, or could not envision ways in which to use this new assistance effectively. Still others anticipated that the auxiliaries might not speak in standard English and might undermine efforts to improve the pupils' language skills. A few wondered whether the pupils would respond more easily to the auxiliaries than to themselves and that they might, therefore, lose close personal contacts with their pupils.

The auxiliaries had many trepidations. They, too, appeared to be concerned about the differences in their background, values, and patterns of speech from those prevailing in the school. While the professionals often considered the effects of such factors upon pupils, the auxiliaries tended to become defensive and uncomfortable because of these differences. Some auxiliaries were resentful, particularly in the preschool centers, when they observed only the end result of the planning—what was actually done for pupils and by whom in the classroom. Not understanding the diagnostic skills required of the teacher in designing the program to meet the needs of individual pupils, these auxiliaries were heard to say: "We do the same things as the teachers; why should they be paid more?"

The problem of defining and redefining one's own role was only one aspect of the challenge. An even more important task was defining, understanding and accepting the role of the person with whom one was to work. This was equally true of professionals and auxiliaries as they entered into a new, sensitive and complex relationship. The demonstration programs revealed that many of the doubts and concerns could have been avoided had there been adequate discussion of new roles and functions prior to the operation.

In the programs where these possible difficulties were discussed by school administrators, teachers and auxiliaries, as well as university representatives and community leaders in preplanning sessions, the problems were either ameliorated or prevented.

PURPOSES OF STUDY

1. To contribute to an understanding of the possible problems, and the values that might be realized through the utilization of auxiliary school personnel, with special reference to the utilization of low-income workers.
2. To identify those aspects of role development, training and institutionalization of auxiliary personnel which either block or facilitate constructive outcomes for pupils, parents, teachers, and auxiliaries themselves.
3. To formulate hypotheses as to principles and practices which appear to be effective in the collaborative utilization of professionals and nonprofessionals in the educational enterprise.

BASIC HYPOTHESIS

√ The basic hypothesis is that the utilization of low-income workers as auxiliary personnel in school settings may, with appropriate role development, training and institutionalization, have positive outcomes for pupil learning, home-school relationships, teacher competence, and development of auxiliaries as workers and persons.

THE NATURE OF THE STUDY

This was an exploratory, developmental study of role definition and development, training, and institutionalization of auxiliary personnel in American education. Phase One was concerned primarily with the first two areas–role development and training–while Phase Two focused upon the third area–institutionalization.

TYPES OF ANALYSIS

1. *Empirical analysis* was based on observation, analysis and coordination of a nation-wide network of 15 demonstration training programs financed by OEO during 1966-67, in which uniform instruments were administered and group interviews conducted, and five continuing projects (1967-68) which were studied in more depth.
2. *Normative analysis* was developed by convening specialists from various disciplines, from community leadership, and from government to share experiences and to plan for the utilization of auxiliary personnel in such a way as to support and enhance the learning-teaching process, provide employment opportunities for economically and educationally disadvantaged persons, and at the same time, protect professional standards.

PURPOSES OF ANALYSIS OF 15 DEMONSTRATION TRAINING PROJECTS

1. To identify certain functions currently performed by professionals which may now appropriately be assigned to auxiliaries, as well as those in which assistance by nonprofessionals under professional supervision may have value.
2. To develop some possible roles for auxiliaries in school settings with a job description for each type and level of role, in sequence–the job description to establish limits, but not to be applied rigidly and divisively.
3. To demonstrate training processes which may facilitate effective utilization of auxiliary personnel–training both for the nonprofessionals and for the professionals with whom they would be working.
4. To identify those characteristics of auxiliaries which appear to have an effect upon their success, both in training and on the job.
5. To explore principles of institutionalization of auxiliaries into a school system, including such factors as recruitment, selection, opportunities for stable employment with the chance of upward mobility, orientation for administrators and teachers, and a long term program of training for the auxiliaries themselves.

(Note: Item 5 was stressed in Phase Two of this Study, which analyzed on-the-job situations in five selected projects.)

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF PHASE ONE OF THE STUDY

Auxiliary school personnel in the 15 training programs demonstrated the capacity to make a positive contribution to the learning-teaching process, under the following conditions:

1. Role definition providing a floor and a ceiling to auxiliary functions, thus preventing underutilization or overutilization of aides.
2. Within these limits, role development is stressed in terms of the specific needs of each learning situation, the capability of each auxiliary, and the school structure within which each professional-nonprofessional team operates.
3. Intensive and continuing training of teachers and auxiliaries together is provided, including both preservice and inservice training.
4. Auxiliary personnel is incorporated into the entire school structure as a new career model, and not as a temporary, fragmented, expedient adjunct to the school.
5. Every staff member is perceived as capable of making a meaningful contribution to learning.

Such an approach reinforces the concept that, like life, the organization of education is a dynamic which is evolved from a variety of roles, adult influences and common experiences, all of which have an impact on the development of children and youth.

FIVE CONTINUING PROJECTS

Of the 15 demonstration training programs studied in Phase One of the Study, four were selected for continuing, more intensive analysis with emphasis on institutionalization. One new project was added, where commitment to the employment of auxiliaries at the outset of the project was secured from local school authorities in three counties in Eastern Kentucky.

The five projects were sponsored by the following institutions: Berkeley (California) Unified School District; Detroit Public Schools; Morehead (Kentucky) State University; University of Maine; New York City Board of Education (District 3) and the Two Bridges Council.

The selection of these projects was based on the theory that it would be more productive to attempt to facilitate movement toward institutionalization and to analyze the process as it took place rather than to reconstruct the process of projects which had already accomplished institutionalization.

Institutionalization was conceived for purposes of the Study as the incorporation of auxiliary personnel as an integral part of the school system. Such integration has numerous facets: 1) stable employment with fringe benefits and increments; 2) flexible job descriptions to permit evolving roles as needs are identified and capacities of auxiliaries are enlarged; 3) selection criteria which stress apparent potential rather than previous schooling and experience; 4) continuing, compreshensive and relevant training after employment, including both training for increased competence at the present level and training for upward mobility; and 5) sequential positions in an occupational track leading from the entry level all the way to professional certification and beyond, with work-study programs available at each step in the sequence. The term, "work-study program," may be defined as training based upon two principles: academic credit for work experience, and released time and/or compensation for course work.

To effectuate these components of the process of institutionalization requires attitudinal shifts of some magnitude as well as a sound design for action. Acceptance of auxiliary personnel as true partners in the educational enterprise is often a threatening experience for those who conceive of the classroom as essentially a group of pupils exposed to the influence of one professionally certified teacher. This concept is deeply embedded in the working style of many teachers who perceive the classroom as their own "turf," the pupils as their own children, and any other adult as an intruder.

A climate characterized by openness to new approaches requires first a positive experience. Effective utilization of auxiliary personnel in meaningful tasks involving direct contact with pupils is the decisive factor in movement toward institutionalization. The five projects in which the process of institutionalization was analyzed focused heavily upon effective utilization as the foundation on which a comprehensive program of career development might be built.

The five projects had in common a commitment to the utilization of auxiliaries in pupil-oriented activities which directly support the learning-teaching process. The projects varied in the extent to which the different elements in the process of institutionalization had been incorporated, but the staff of all projects shared a deep concern for career development as a total system. In all projects, auxiliaries were already employed. The training provided was for increased competence on the job, not merely preparation for jobs which might exist ultimately. This eliminated an impeding aspect of several of the programs analyzed during Phase One of the Study, in which genuine commitment by the school systems to employ those who satisfactorily completed the training could not in some cases be implemented because of unforeseen cuts in the school budget.

Other common features of the five continuing projects were: 1) the employing agency was deeply involved as sponsor or co-sponsor of the project; 2) the project provided training for both the auxiliaries and the professionals with whom they worked; 3) the auxiliaries were from the community served by the school, in each case an economically deprived area; 4) community advisory committees were established; and 5) cooperative working relationships were developed between the project director and the consultant-observer appointed by the overall Study. The functions of the latter were to observe and analyze the program in action, interview the participants, and provide feedback which led to program modification and some shifts in the planning. Because of the exploratory nature of the projects, the role of the consultant-observer was, as the title indicates, not pure research, but rather program analysis.

The consultant-observer made periodic visits to the project to note the various stages in program development and its apparent impact, if any, at each stage upon pupils, participants (teachers and auxiliaries), administrators, parents and the school system as a whole. Participation by both directors and consultant-observers in work conferences convened by the overall Study initiated a sharing of experience among the various projects and joint planning.

Variables among the projects included:

1. **Types of communities served**: Two projects were located in large cities (Detroit and New York City); one in a small city (Berkeley, California); two in rural areas (Eastern Kentucky and Northeast Maine).
2. **Geographical Distribution**: The Far West, the Middle West, the South, the Central Atlantic Region and New England were included.
3. **Sponsorship**: Two were sponsored by the local school system (Berkeley and Detroit); two were sponsored by local Universities with cooperation of the school system (Kentucky and Maine); one was sponsored jointly by the school system and a community agency (New York City).
4. **Ethnic Background of Auxiliaries**: Detroit and Berkeley–predominantly black; Kentucky–Caucasion; Maine–Caucasian, mainly of French-Canadian descent; New York City–predominantly black, Puerto Rican and Oriental.
5. **Special Selection Criteria for Auxiliaries**: Two required that auxiliaries be parents of children currently enrolled in the school (Berkeley and New York City); Detroit placed special emphasis on employing the "hard core poor,"–those considered umemployable and residing in areas which had been the center of rioting in the summer of 1967.
6. **Grade Levels Covered**: Three projects were located in elementary schools (Berkeley, Kentucky and New York City); two included both elementary and secondary schools (Detroit and Maine).
7. **Availability of Training for Upward Mobility**: Three projects developed work-study programs leading to promotion in cooperation with local institutions of higher learning (Berkeley, Kentucky and New York City); one was to have been completed, as of June, 1968, to work out such an arrangement (Detroit); one encouraged those interested in achieving professional certification to apply for fellowships at local colleges (Maine).

FOLLOW-UP STUDIES OF TWO SUMMER 1966 INSTITUTES

Phase One of the Study revealed a recurring problem: that frequently there is inadequate linkage between training and employment opportunities.

The Summer Institute conducted by the University of California at Riverside prepared 40 persons to serve as auxiliaries in the Ontario, California school system, of whom only 12 could be employed, because of an unexpected cut in Title I funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Those who were employed were used at the level of their skills.

The Summer Institute conducted by New York University for persons already employed as school aides illustrated another kind of problem. These aides were trained to become educational assistants (supporting the learning-teaching process by working directly with children) only to be reassigned to their former function of school aides of performing routine clerical and custodial tasks, despite their demonstrated capacity to contribute to the learning of the children. They were employed but not at the level of their skills.

To ascertain how such disappointments affected the trainees, and to develop recommendations on how to avoid the frustrations of unemployment or underemployment, even after training, the trainees in both projects were interviewed in some depth, individually and in groups.

THE TASK AHEAD

The values derived from the utilization of auxiliary personnel in the 15 demonstration programs did not accrue automatically from the introduction of more adults into the classroom. Many complex but not insoluble problems arose as school people moved into new roles and relationships. This section deals with some of the more urgent problems that may be faced and coping strategies that may be employed, as effective interaction is developed among professionals, auxiliaries, pupils, and parents in a community-centered school.

Reaching the Unreached. In most of the demonstration programs studied there was a tendency to do a certain amount of "creaming"–i.e., selecting persons who, though poor, were most similar in values, appearance, and behavior to middle-class professionals. This was understandable in view of the importance of demonstrating that people below the poverty level, with little prior schooling can, in fact, make a valuable contribution to the learning-teaching process.

It appears that the time has now come to recruit and select those with potential which is less obvious though very real. This does not mean that anyone should be selected to work in a school simply because he is poor. There is no magic in poverty which automatically makes its victims able to reach out to others in a way that helps children learn and teachers teach. However, experience has shown that it is possible to "screen in" low achievers who have been "screened out" even of poverty programs, and with dramatic results in terms of combating the sense of frustration, resentment, and loss of identity that may lead to violence.

Action Needed

1. Recruitment patterns to reach those most victimized by poverty and discrimination, particularly men.
2. Selection criteria and procedures which attempt to ascertain the ability of candidates to work well with children.
3. Brief preservice programs which serve a double purpose: to train, and to search out potential before assignment of specific duties.
4. Vocational counseling to help place in other appropriate jobs those who do not qualify for work in schools.

Developing a Team Approach. Traditionally, many teachers have had an image of themselves as standing before pupils giving out information with the door locked–figuratively and and sometimes even literally. When a child did not respond to the information, as presented, he was usually written off as a failure. Seldom was there any question as to what was being taught or how it was being taught as possible causal factors for the child's inability to learn.

Today, a searching self-evaluation has been initiated by many teachers, administrators, and other professionals such as specialists in curriculum, mental health, and physical health. The aim is to discover how to reach *every* child. The introduction of auxiliary personnel into the schools has strengthened such self-analysis, since teachers find they have to clarify their own goals and practices for themselves before they can interpret them to their helpers.

A new leadership role is emerging for teachers as they learn to coordinate the contributions of other adults in the classroom, very much as an orchestra leader combines strings, brass, and woodwinds into harmony. The teacher-leader analyzes the learning and emotional needs of children. He utilizes all available resources, both professional and nonprofessional, both human and material, in a unified program designed to meet those needs. The teacher is the pivotal person, responsible and accountable for seeing that learning takes place in the classroom.

However, many teachers see this new role as a dilution rather than an enhancement of teaching. For one thing, they fear that they might lose personal contact with children, even though the help they receive in performing routine tasks may actually increase rather than lessen their opportunity for interaction with individual children.

Other professionals, such as counselors and social workers, also tend to resent any intrusion into their particular "turf." Many professionals look at their own small part of the child, without ever sharing their views and values as part of a team.

In essence, the team approach means that members of a working team do not ask: "How come I always wind up doing this kind of job?" or "How can untrained people do any part of my job?" but rather, "which of us can learn how to perform this particular task in a way which will give most help to pupils?"

Action Needed

1. Team training of administrators, teachers, other professionals, and nonprofessionals, so that the needs of children become more important than the needs for personal achievement and recognition.
2. Application of the team approach simultaneously to the school as a whole and to each class situation, in fact, the development of "teams within a team."
3. Emphasis upon the new and expanded role of teachers in institutions of higher learning which prepare teachers for certification.

Involving the Community. As parents and community leaders begin to make new demands upon the schools and seek a new role in decision making, delicate negotiations are required. Two essentials of successful negotiation are a balance of power and a willingness to give a bit on both sides. Too often, in the past, parents have negotiated from weakness of several kinds–lack of status, lack of know-how, lack of communication skills. And all too frequently, in the past, both sides have taken inflexible positions.

One sensitive and extremely complex problem has been discovered as low-income parents take on new responsibilities in the school, i.e., the effect of this shift in role upon their relationship with their neighbors. Sometimes those who take on leadership roles are rejected by their peers as having sold out to the Establishment. Sometimes, the reverse is true. The new leaders take on middle-class values and reject their own people.

Action Needed

1. Involvement of selected parents as auxiliaries in schools situated in both advantaged and disadvantaged areas, with emphasis upon educational goals in training.
2. Establishment of school-community advisory boards representative of all viewpoints in both school and community, working together toward a realistic analysis of the situation and toward maximizing the contribution each group can make toward quality education.
3. Case by case analysis of each situation with counseling to support and guide the adjustment.

Facing the Administrative Challenge. Administrators are not only chiefly responsible for establishing overall goals and policies, setting the tone, and identifying what functions need to be performed and by whom, but they are also responsible for implementing these decisions through fiscal operations and organizational procedures.

In the fiscal realm uncertainty of continued federal funding is a major problem. This uncertainty inhibits career development with its concomitants of a job sequence including graduated compensation, increments, and fringe benefits as well as work-study programs with remuneration for study and educational credit for work experience.

There are also many procedural matters to consider such as: matching the right kind of auxiliary with the right kind of teacher within an appropriate situation; allowing teachers to volunteer to use auxiliaries, or at least to select them; providing the opportunity to change partners with the minimum of sensitivity when the principal problem appears to be a clash of personality; and scheduling time within the school day for the teacher-auxiliary teams to review their experiences in the classroom and plan together for the next day.

The role of administrator as interpreter to board, parents, and staff may seem burdensome to one who is not, himself, convinced of the ultimate values of auxiliaries to the school, and who lacks assistance both within and outside the school in coping with the complexities of the challenge.

Action Needed

1. Assurance of continued funding by government as is unquestioned for roads and the maritime industry.
2. Priority in school budget "hard funds" for the employment and training of auxiliary personnel.
3. Close cooperation and joint planning by schools and local institutions of higher learning to develop work-study programs.
4. Orientation of administrators through institutes and workshops involving professional associations, unions, and community agencies at some point in the discussion.
5. Additional personnel in each school to provide for administration and supervision of special projects, made possible by federal funding, such as projects for the use of auxiliary personnel.
6. A plan for career development in each school system, along the lines of the model presented here.

NOTE: An auxiliary can enter at any stage in the career ladder, depending upon his previous training and experience. He can cease training at the level at which he feels most comfortable.

Upward mobility should be possible but not compulsory. The auxiliary's work should be treated with respect at each stage, so that he will have a sense of dignity and accomplishment, however far he may rise. Group and individual counseling should be available throughout both preservice and inservice training.

possible stages in career development of auxiliaries

1) AIDE SUCH AS	**Illustrative Functions**	**Training Suggested**
GENERAL SCHOOL AIDE	Clerical, monitorial, custodial duties	Brief orientation period (2 or 3 weeks) in human development, social relations, and the school's goals and procedures, as well as some basic skill training.
LUNCHROOM AIDE	Serving and preparation of food, monitorial duties	
TEACHER AIDE	Helping teacher in classroom, as needed	
FAMILY WORKER OR AIDE	Appointments, escorting, and related duties	
COUNSELOR AIDE	Clerical, receptionist, and related duties	no specified preschooling required.
LIBRARY AIDE	Helping with cataloging and distribution of books	

2) ASSISTANT SUCH AS	**Illustrative Functions**	**Training Suggested**
TEACHER ASSISTANT	More relationship to instructional process	High school diploma or equivalent; one year's inservice training or one year in college with practicum
FAMILY ASSISTANT	Home visits and organizing parent meetings	
COUNSELOR ASSISTANT	More work with records, listening to children sent from class to counselor's office because they are disrupting class	both can be on a work-study basis while working as an aide
LIBRARY ASSISTANT	More work with pupils in selecting books and reading to them	

3) ASSOCIATE SUCH AS	**Illustrative Functions**	**Training Suggested**
TEACHER ASSOCIATE	More responsibility with less supervision by the professional	A.A. degree from two-year college or two-year special program in a four-year college.
HOME-SCHOOL ASSOCIATE		
COUNSELOR ASSOCIATE		both can be on work-study basis while working as an assistant
LIBRARY ASSOCIATE		
SOCIAL WORK [illegible]**CIATE**		

4) TEACHER - INTERN SUCH AS	**Illustrative Functions**	**Training Suggested**
STUDENT TEACHER **STUDENT HOME-SCHOOL COORDINATOR** **STUDENT COUNSELOR**	Duties very similar to those of associate but with more involvement in diagnosis and planning	B.A. or B.S. degree and enrollment in a college of teacher education or other institution which offers a program leading to certification

5) TEACHER

II. COMPOSITE PICTURE OF THE FIFTEEN DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

"No one ever listened to me before," said a trainee in a *Project to Prepare Teacher-Aides for Working with Disadvantaged Children* conducted by the Department of Education, San Juan Regional Office, in Puerto Rico. Understandably, this auxiliary-participant in the Summer Institute became an effective "listener" in one-to-one or small group relationships with pupils in the practicum classroom, applying to her work with children in an economically deprived section of San Juan the insights she had gained into the art of listening and the joy of being heard. Practicum is defined as a sustained supervised training experience with children in an actual educational setting. In the practicum, she, like the 49 other auxiliary-participants, was teamed with a teacher who was himself a participant in the Institute. These 50 teacher-auxiliary teams experimented in 50 separate classes, with the auxiliary performing a variety of functions related to the learning-teaching process and the teacher playing a triple role as: a teacher of the class, a guide to the auxiliary, and a learner, himself, in terms of effective utilization of the auxiliaries' services. Later, in group counseling sessions, teachers and auxiliaries reviewed their experiences in the classroom and explored the meanings as well as the possible values of their new roles and relationships.

At the University of Maine's *Project to Train Auxiliary School Personnel (Teacher-Aides)* in connection with an *NDEA Institute for Advanced Study for Teachers of Disadvantaged Children*, listening was also an important function of the auxiliaries, who were mothers receiving Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). One pupil in the practicum was heard by a visiting consultant telling an auxiliary about his frustrations in class. The auxiliary was able to interpret the experience to the boy, and the boy's problems to the staff. Some aspects of his complaints were considered by staff and resulted in programmatic changes. "He felt comfortable about telling his gripes to me," said the auxiliary who had served as a link between the boy and the staff.

In the *Pilot Program to Train Teacher-Aides*, conducted by the Detroit Public Schools, a spirit of openness to new ideas was evident. Auxiliaries had previously performed clerical, custodial, and monitorial functions. The teacher-auxiliary teams in the Institute were told, in effect, to throw out the "rule book" during the practicum, and to explore just how far they could go in involving the auxiliaries in the learning-teaching process with benefit to the pupils. The teacher-participants, though willing to put aside the rule book, had to deal with their own fear of auxiliaries usurping the professional's role in the classroom. The director, and the school system supporting him, guaranteed professional standards while the auxiliaries appeared not only to understand the need for such guarantees, but also openly expressed their desire for maintaining clear lines of role definition. "We work as a team," said one auxiliary, "with the teacher having authority and responsibility, like the head of a firm or the captain of a ship."

In Berkeley, California, during the *Project on Teacher Education and Parent-Teacher Aides in a Culturally Different Community*, an aide reported, "One day I went to a child, as I had been doing every day since coming to the classroom almost a month ago, to give him help in reading certain words. The child gave me a beautiful smile–one I'll never forget–and said proudly, 'I don't need you any more.' He was on his own. He knew I would be there if he needed me. He now felt sure enough to work by himself." A child who is present physically but absent mentally during the independent work period often needs the presence of a concerned adult to help him use his time most profitably for such study. Such a function was performed by auxiliaries in the Berkeley Unified School District Project in two schools serving disadvantaged children. The parent-aide who helped the child become self-directed did not consider his act a rejection of herself by the boy but rather a tremendous achievement. She had come to understand the goals of the school.

These projects were four of the 15 demonstration training programs financed by OEO and coordinated by Bank Street College of Education as part of its nation-wide Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education.

The programs were studied in two groups: Group I included nine programs of the "institute" type–small groups of participants enrolled for intensive training during a relatively short period of time. In two of these programs (Detroit and Riverside) the auxiliaries were actually employed, but trained in a practicum situation. Group II included six programs where training was incorporated into the regular school year, but the auxiliaries received stipends as trainees in the project, not as school employees.

COMPOSITE PICTURE OF 15 PROJECTS

Group I Institute-Type Program

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Education
Detroit Public Schools
Garland Junior College
Jackson State College
New York University
Northern Arizona University
University of California at Riverside

Group II On-the-Job Training During School Year

Ball State University
Berkeley Unified School System
Howard University
Ohio University
San Fernando Valley State College
Southern Illinois University

The narrative description which follows is illustrated in graphic form in Appendix IV.

COMMON AIMS AND ELEMENTS

Despite the broad range of geographical distribution and programmatic variations, it is possible to draw a composite picture of the demonstration programs, since they all shared basic objectives and had in common such elements as: 1) the auxiliary-participants in all projects were selected wholly or in large measure from those at or below the poverty level; 2) every program combined theoretical instruction with learning through experience in a practicum or regular school classroom; 3) all projects were committed to experiment with auxiliaries in new functions which were *directly* related to the learning-teaching process as well as in functions which were *indirectly* related to instruction, such as simple clerical tasks; 4) there was preplanning with the local school systems in every case to ensure employment for the auxiliaries who satisfactorily completed the training program, and to gear the training to the needs of the school system, though not to lose the vitality and growth components in this recognition of reality requirements; 5) every project had a research director on its staff and included a component of self-evaluation in its program; 6) all were funded by OEO and were coordinated by Bank Street College of Education as part of its Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education.

These mutual elements were requirements for funding by OEO in this matrix of demonstration training projects. At work conferences for project directors convened by Bank Street College of Education, these common elements were fused into one basic purpose, which undergirded their diverse but cooperative activities, i.e., "To formulate hypotheses as to principles and practices which appear to be effective in actual practice for their role definition and development, training and institutionalization of auxiliary personnel as part of the learning-teaching process.

To develop the role of the auxiliary as an integral and contributive factor in American education requires an understanding of the whole complex of roles, responsibilities, and relationships involved in the learning-teaching process. Consequently, in the Work Conference for Directors held prior to the completion of project proposals, there was consensus that teachers and administrators had a great deal to learn as well as to give in these training programs. In ten of the 15 programs, therefore, teachers were enrolled as participants: to work with auxiliaries in the classroom; to explore role possibilities not only for auxiliaries but also for themselves, the latter in terms of new and more complex professional roles in an aided teaching situation; to evaluate their experiences; and to plan for more effective utilization of auxiliaries in the future. In the opinion of staff and participants, role development was facilitated where there was participation of teachers and auxiliaries in the projects.

The principal dilemma appeared to be the conflict between *role definition*, which was recognized as necessary for institutionalization, and *role development*, which was a dynamic of each classroom situation where auxiliaries were utilized. The degree of responsibilities assigned to an auxiliary depends upon the interaction of a particular teacher and a particular auxiliary operating within a given structure and responding to the special needs of individual pupils. A delicate balance seems to be required in order to provide the specificity that means security, along with the flexibility that promotes growth.

In these nine projects in which a component of group counseling for participants was built into the program, there appeared to be a gradual lessening of fear on the part of teacher-participants that standards were threatened by the introduction of noncertified personnel into the classroom. In counseling sessions, teachers tended to recognize and understand their feelings of being somewhat threatened by the presence of another adult in the classroom and to begin to develop some inner strength to cope with this insecurity.

In some programs, administrators also attended as learners and planners for at least a portion of the training–a significant addition not only to the training program, but also to ultimate institutionalization.

Within the broad framework of common objectives and similar approaches, there was wide variety of programmatic design in the matrix of demonstration programs. The needs and composition of groups of potential auxiliaries in various communities, the diverse policies of local school systems with respect to the utilization of auxiliaries, the available facilities and resources for training, and the nature and extent of cooperation in the institutional life of the area all had an impact upon the training program.

PROGRAMMATIC VARIATIONS

In pursuit of these common goals, each program demonstrated interesting variables in such matters as sponsorship, preplanning, recruitment, selection, composition of the participant group, the specific skills for which auxiliaries were trained, instructional content and process, and methods of process observation and feedback. The following description of these various elements of program structure indicate both the common features and those which were idiosyncratic.

Sponsorship was by institutions of higher learning with the exception of three projects: Detroit, Puerto Rico, and Berkeley. In these three, the local school system was the sponsoring agency. Wayne State University was involved in the Detroit program on a consultative basis; in Puerto Rico some members of the University of Puerto Rico held important positions on the project staff; and in Berkeley the University of California School of Criminology conducted the research component of the project. In the Ball State University program, involving four school systems, planning and implementation were in the hands of the individual systems, with the University acting as catalyst. In the Howard University program, the Model School Division of the District of Columbia public school system was deeply involved in the planning and operation.

Preplanning for the training programs was initiated by the sponsoring institution with school administrators, local Community Action Agencies, and occasionally with representatives of other appropriate agencies, such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Northern Arizona. The preplanning process varied greatly from program to program, including the number of meetings, hierarchical level of involvement on the part of cooperating institutions or agencies, areas of concern explored, and degree of agreement reached. In all cases, the purpose of the preplanning was to work out appropriate methods of recruitment and selection of trainees, to explore the roles of teachers and auxiliaries in the local school systems so that an appropriate and realistic training program could be developed, to secure commitment for employment, and to agree on areas of responsibility. The coordination of training and employment was most thorough and most easily accomplished when it could be achieved intramurally, as in Detroit, Puerto Rico and Berkeley, where the school system was the sponsor. In the other cases, coordination was facilitated when a sponsoring institution of higher learning had previously formed extensive contacts with school systems, either through working relationships involving placement of student teachers or through other services rendered by the college or, as at the University of South Florida, the university sponsor was not able to gain cooperation from the local school system. In this case, the University then arranged with the Catholic diocese to utilize parochial schools in the practicum.

At Ball State the project staff worked closely with the superintendent and principals of four Indiana school systems. In other situations, initial overtures to school systems, or Community Action Agencies had to be made. Such was the case in Ohio where the project was involved with Head Start programs in ten localities in two states. Still another approach was used in Maine where liaison was established with local school systems, with the State Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and with the Maine Teachers Association, and where a week-long conference was held with school administrators.

Some local situations precluded the sponsoring institution's working with the school system because the latter had a policy of not employing auxiliary personnel in the classroom. In Boston such a situation existed at the time of the Institute (later modified), so Garland developed a Leadership Institute prior to the Institute for Auxiliaries. The purposes of the Leadership Institute were to interest, through involvement, the local educational leadership from the community at large, from day-care centers, Head Start programs, and other Community Action programs and agencies in the exploration of role development, training, and institutionalization of auxiliary personnel, as well as to profit by their experience and ideas in the preplanning of the auxiliaries' training program.

In most programs, there was also internal preplanning involving the staff of the institute. At Riverside, San Fernando Valley and Northern Arizona, each staff met prior to the program for a period varying from a weekend to one week, to establish working procedures, discuss the overall approach to learning, and to plan the details of the program. Most programs did not have consecutive days allocated to staff preplanning. Rather, this was accomplished on a more informal basis in a series of separate staff meetings prior to the opening of the program.

Recruitment and selection plans as formulated during the preplanning sessions varied considerably. In five programs (Detroit, Ball State, Berkeley, Jackson, and NYU) the recruitment of auxiliary-trainees followed the regular patterns of the school systems involved in the projects (either as sponsors or eventual employers of the auxiliaries), usually by direct contact through the principal or teachers with the additional involvement of the local Community Action Program Agency (CAP). In two cases (Detroit and N Y U), those persons who had already served as school-aides and showed potential for training as teacher-aides were recruited. In Riverside all recruitment was done through the Community Action Programs. In Maine, mothers receiving Aid to Dependent Children were informed of the program by their social workers. The Navaho auxiliaries in Northern Arizona, were recruited through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, radio announcements, and word-of-mouth publicity on the reservation. The availability of programs at Ohio and in Puerto Rico was made known to the classes of local high schools by the principals or guidance counselors. Mass media were used in almost every project to supplement other forms of recruitment.

In the St. Petersburg, Florida program for migrants, the recruitment was through local CAP groups and through the Florida State Department of Education. The project at Southern Illinois recruited part of its participants from the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the remainder from aides employed under Title I of ESEA. In the Howard Project, recruitment of high school seniors in the third and fourth track (slow students) was carried out by the principal of the Cardozo High School, which was the only source of the student participants.

Applicants were usually screened through personal interviews. When time precluded this personalized procedure, its omission was regretted by those involved in the selection. Only one program, San Fernando, had no responsibility for recruitment or selection of trainees. An additional handicap was placed on this program in training auxiliaries, since often the program staff did not know either the number of trainees or anything of their background until the trainees arrived for the orientation program.

Academic requirements for the auxiliaries in all programs covered a wide range. Some projects had no requirements as to prior schooling. The highest academic requirement was a high school diploma. Other factors most frequently considered in selection were: ability to work with other people, concern for children and enthusiasm for the work at hand. Although in six projects (Garland, Maine, Jackson, Illinois, South Florida, and Berkeley) the auxiliary-trainees were all female, only Garland made it a requirement. This regulation was because residence in the college dormitory was included in the program. It was at Garland that there was a considerable number of middle- and upper-class auxiliary-trainees, although the majority was low-income. Many projects gave preference to males, but only Howard University had a majority of male trainees.

In Detroit and Ball State, preference was given to those auxiliary candidates who were already employed and planned to return to employment in the school system for the regular year.

The racial and ethnic groups to which the auxiliaries belonged were varied, including blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Navaho Indians, and others. Ethnicity was in most cases not a selection criterion, since auxiliaries were selected from the indigenous population. In Northern Arizona, however, only Navaho Indians were accepted. One group consisted of low-income persons in predominantly white Appalachia. Migrant workers were another particularized group. In Berkeley, only mothers of children in the school served were accepted. In Ohio, school dropouts were selected with university students as "sponsors" or advisers.

The teacher-participants were usually recruited and selected by principals in whose schools the institute practicum would be conducted, or by principals whose teachers would be working with auxiliaries during the school year. In Maine and Northern Arizona, where the project was conducted jointly by an *NDEA Institute for Advanced Study for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth*, the teachers in the Institutes were the teacher-participants.

In the four programs which included administrator-participants as well as teachers and auxiliaries (Northern Arizona, Maine, Ball State, and Southern Illinois), the administrators were recruited through personal contacts made by the program staff, through mass media, and through brochures announcing the availability of the program.

Residential facilities presented some interesting variations. Garland provided opportunity for a cross-class, cross-culture, racially integrated experience. A salient feature of this plan was that some middle-class blacks were included as well as some low-income Caucasians. In Maine, the ADC mothers and their children were housed in a campus fraternity house. The migrants in the South Florida Program lived in a Bay Campus dormitory. Navaho auxiliaries were housed in a University dormitory and the children in a BIA dormitory.

At Ohio, which offered a summer institute and a year-long program, the high school auxiliary-trainees and their college student sponsors lived in campus dormitories during the initial six-week phase of the program. The high school students then returned to live at home for the remainder of the program. The sponsors found their own housing in the communities of their advisees for the four-week practicum phase, returning to the campus in the fall to continue their academic training.

Instructional content exhibited notable similarities and differences. In almost every program involving teacher-participants, the auxiliary-participants and teachers received instruction in the philosophy of education, child development (often quite specifically the psychology of the disadvantaged child), and the general goals and procedures of the local school system. These substantive areas were covered in lectures or seminars. In most programs, the participants, both professional and nonprofessional, met as a group for some portion of the academic instruction. In Detroit and Puerto Rico, instruction was directed to the auxiliaries exclusively, with the teachers attending as observers so that they would be aware of what the auxiliaries were learning.

Instruction in specific skills for the auxiliaries usually included typing, record keeping, use of audiovisual equipment and the skills needed in assisting with reading, games, and creative activities, such as music and art. Basic communication skills were stressed. In the Howard University project, special skill training in physical care was provided for health-aides.

In most cases the decision to offer instruction in these skills was based on the functions for which the auxiliaries were being prepared; and this, in turn, was influenced by, but not restricted completely to, the current policy of the local school system in the use of auxiliaries. In a few instances, the instruction was given in response to a request by many of the auxiliaries. The Jackson State auxiliaries, for example, asked for further guidance in behavior suitable to an employment situation, such as working effectively with people, and personal grooming. The teacher-participants in many programs assisted in the instructional program by tutoring in the evening, especially when the auxiliaries were studying for high-school equivalency examinations. The teachers, on several occasions, remarked that they were surprised to find that the auxiliaries had such desire and capacity for knowledge. The teachers also recognized and remarked that their surprise came from stereotyped misconception about people who had experienced economic or educational deprivation.

The practicum, a sustained, supervised experience with children in an actual educational setting, offered opportunity for integrating substantive learnings and innovative practices. In nearly half the programs the participants worked together in the practicum as teacher-auxiliary teams. In other programs the auxiliaries worked under the guidance of a demonstration teacher who was not, however, a participant in the program. Only at Berkeley, Jackson State, and Ball State did some of the teachers and auxiliaries who were to work together during the coming school year have an opportunity to work together in the practicum as a team, although this was a goal of all programs. At Berkeley and Southern Illinois the auxiliaries began working immediately in the classrooms with the teachers to whom they were assigned for that school year.

There were variations in the length of the daily practicum. Most lasted from two to three hours in the morning. Four (Garland, Ohio, Southern Illinois, and San Fernando) lasted for the entire school day. Three of these were prekindergarten programs. The Southern Illinois Program was in an elementary school. At Garland, half of the participants took part in the practicum while the other half were in classes at the college; then the groups reversed assignments. In Detroit, where the teachers were assigned to classes in the system's summer school program for the whole morning, the auxiliaries worked in the practicum with them for only one hour. In South Florida the auxiliaries worked in the practicum for a half day only.

The grade levels of the practicums ranged from prekindergarten through high school. Detroit was the only program that included high school, and only two programs (Detroit and Maine) included junior high schools. At Riverside some junior high school students worked with younger children in an experiment in cross-age teaching. Only in Northern Arizona and Riverside were ungraded groupings used. Of the preschool programs, four were for Head Start children.

Great variety was evidenced in the organization of the practicum. Several programs used the local system's regular summer school sessions (N Y U , Ball State, Detroit, and Riverside). In Puerto Rico, Northern Arizona, and Jackson State, special practicum classes were set up for the institute, and parents were asked to send their children. In Northern Arizona the children were Navahos from the reservation and had to be housed in a Bureau of Indian Affairs dormitory while they attended the school in which the practicum was located. Ohio and San Fernando Valley used Head Start centers as practicums, and Garland used a day camp operated by the Associated Day Care Centers, Inc. In Maine, the practicum was for children of auxiliary-participants. Parochial schools in St. Petersburg provided the practicum setting for South Florida. Public school classes during the regular school year served as the practicum for Berkeley, Howard, and Southern Illinois.

In almost every instance in the summer programs there were fewer children in each practicum class than are ordinarily in a class during the school year. The enrollment in these programs ranged from seven in Maine to approximately 20 in most programs. The small classes provided an opportunity to experiment with innovative techniques. The directors believed that the experiences could be transferred to larger classes during the school year, after principles and promising practices had been formulated in the experimental settings. The four-year long programs (Berkeley, Howard, Ohio, and Southern Illinois) used actual operating classrooms varying from 15 to 47 students.

In the summer programs where children attended practicums which were not part of the system's regular summer school program, the projects found it necessary to modify the content and methods used in the classes, offering some vacation-type activities as well as the regular or remedial instruction originally planned, in order to maintain steady attendance on a voluntary basis.

Most practicums provided experience for auxiliaries with many tasks in a variety of situations. Each project staff wanted auxiliaries to be prepared for something more than the routine custodial, clerical or monitorial functions often assigned to such personnel. The Visitation Teams found auxiliary-participants engaged in a wide range of activities related to instruction, from working on a one-to-one basis with a child in remedial reading to reviewing tests with large groups of pupils.

Supervision of the practicum was carried out in a number of ways, the most common of which was to have project staff supervisors and/or instructors schedule visits to the practicum classes for the purpose of observation and conferences with the auxiliaries and teachers. At N Y U. this procedure was supplemented by having each auxiliary keep a daily log of practicum experiences which the staff read and commented on, and which was used as the basis of seminar discussions.

A critical training factor was the provision of scheduled time for the teacher and auxiliary teams to review their practicum experience and plan together. Detroit developed a comprehensive procedure for such conferences. For an hour and a half following the practicum each team reviewed the day's experience. At this time, the teacher and the auxiliary wrote their observations of the day's experience and analyzed both perceptions. Then the teacher wrote out the next day's program and discussed it with the auxiliary in terms of his responsibilities. Copies of these plans and analyses were given to the project staff, who used them to guide the design of seminars.

In Maine, daily analysis and planning of the practicum took another form. There, several teachers and several auxiliaries operated in a single practicum classroom. This group met immediately following the practicum with a staff adviser for a seminar on the day's experience and plans for the following day.

In Berkeley, time for planning and evaluation together by each teacher and his two auxiliaries was built into the program. Children left school at 2:30, and the 2:30 to 3:10 period was earmarked for such meetings. In practice, however, both teachers and auxiliaries reported that it was seldom possible to use this time in the manner planned.

Parent-teacher conferences and staff meetings were often scheduled then.

In the ten programs where teacher-trainees were included among the participants, the practicum appeared to be particularly productive in terms of teacher-auxiliary relationships. Conversely, in those programs which did not include teacher-trainees in the practicum, the directors frequently expressed regret that their programs lacked this component; the auxiliaries in group interviews spoke of the need for more interaction with the teachers in the practicum; and the Visitation Teams noted the difference in mutual understanding and trust between professionals and nonprofessionals as they worked together. To the team members the inclusion of teacher-trainees appeared to be the pivotal feature of most programs.

The instructional process varied as employed by individual projects to facilitate learning for both professionals and nonprofessionals. Group counseling sessions with auxiliaries, teachers, and staff members meeting separately were utilized by Puerto Rico, Garland, Howard, Maine, and San Fernando Valley to help participants deal with their personal needs. At Southern Illinois small groups of auxiliaries, teachers, and principals met together for group counseling.

The Riverside Program was the only one to conduct daily sensitivity training sessions in the belief that both teachers and auxiliaries could learn about themselves as persons from the frank reactions of other participants, and could also learn to use themselves more effectively in the educative process through this experience. At Riverside, self-evaluation was also fostered by viewing and discussing video tapes of the various sessions, both of the practicum and of the seminars. A variation of the "T-group" type of sensitivity training was employed at Berkeley, but the meetings were held only once a week.

All projects except Riverside used lectures, most of which were given by project staff. Jackson State and Detroit invited guest lecturers to speak to the participants. Films were used by almost all of the projects. At Garland a film made during the previous year's Aide Training Institute was used. A notable use of film was in the South Florida project where "Harvest of Shame," a film on migrants, was used with the participants who were migrants themselves. Before viewing the film they were reluctant to admit this background, but the showing of the film had such an impact on them that they began to reveal more of their identification with migrants in order to discuss the film. Other frequently used instructional processes included small group sessions, role playing, and panel discussions among participants.

Individual conferences as well as group meetings were a feature of the Garland Program. Jackson State set up a number of committees on which all participants were encouraged to serve. The residential nature of the program facilitated individual and small group counseling on an informal basis at South Florida.

Field trips were used in a number of ways. Sometimes they were arranged for children in the practicum and for the participants together. The purposes varied. Some field trips to local institutions and social agencies were designed to enhance participants' understanding of the problems of the disadvantaged and to inform them of community resources for coping with these problems. Other field trips were designed specifically to supplement the participants' cultural or historical backgrounds.

It was soon discovered in all of the programs that strategies were necessary to assure frank and thoughtful feedback relevant to the changing needs of the trainees. In almost every project the relationships established between staff and participants provided an atmosphere in which both auxiliaries and professionals felt free to discuss their experiences and needs. Some programs provided formal structure for communicating this information to the staff. Group discussions among staff and participants were set up for this purpose. Some programs relied on the use of logs written by participants. Northern Arizona instituted a suggestion box, while at Maine and Jackson State, newspapers were prepared by trainees. The record on film of the taped sessions provided a unique form of feedback in Maine and Riverside. At Ohio the use of college students as "sponsors" or advisers of the high school auxiliaries provided a link between staff and trainees. The college students discussed their observations in seminars with the staff. At Howard, the group counseling sessions were viewed as a means of encouraging suggestions by the auxiliaries for programmatic changes.

Every project had some form of process observation which contributed to the feedback. In most cases one or two persons were employed as process observers for the whole project. This was the case in Northern Arizona, Puerto Rico, San Fernando Valley, Ball State, Detroit, N Y U, Southern Illinois, and Berkeley. In other programs staff instructors served as process observers for other classes and meetings. Staff at Garland, Maine, Jackson State, and N Y U reported that observation of each others' classes was particularly useful in achieving integrated instruction, since the entire staff was aware of what was being presented by other instructors and of the participants' reactions to this material.

Riverside's unusual and more complex approach involved junior high school students as process observers. Midway through the program, those pupils found to be most effective as observers, were retained in the role, while those less effective were assigned other functions.

Only Northern Arizona arranged for a daily staff meeting. The project staff reported these meetings were most useful in "putting out fires before they become conflagrations." Other programs, however, had frequent informal meetings of part or all of the staff for consultation and discussion of current issues, or weekly meetings. At Howard, monthly staff meetings for project staff with appropriate faculty of the high school in which the project was operating proved valuable.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE PROGRAMS

The programs were analyzed both from within and by outside observers. As indicated earlier, the self-evaluation was conducted by process observers drawn from instructional staff and research staff. Participants also recorded their reactions. For outside evaluation, each program was visited for two days by a Study Team of two observers and a consultant. The project directors and research directors met in three work conferences, the last of which was devoted to evaluation with the staff of the overall Study. Directors also reacted to draft reports of site visits.

There was general agreement among internal and external observers that training was *the* essential factor in effective utilization of auxiliaries, and that employment without training appeared to be fraught with hazards. Both preservice and inservice training were perceived as necessary.

There was full consensus on another point: that low-income, educationally disadvantaged persons *could* be trained to contribute significantly to the learning-teaching process *if* the potential difficulties were squarely faced and dealt with by cooperative planning of school, college, and community.

Some of the anticipated difficulties were, in fact, encountered. Others were ameliorated or eliminated by advance planning by the local school system, institutions of higher learning, CAP agencies, and project staff. The principal difficulties were the teachers' initial concern that professional standards would be lowered, their resistance to another adult's constant presence in the classroom and their belief that they might thereby lose close, personal contacts with pupils. The auxiliaries, too, had many trepidations. They were conscious of the differences in their backgrounds, behavior, and patterns of speech from those prevailing in the school. The teachers were concerned about the effect of these differences upon the pupils, while the auxiliaries tended to become defensive and uncomfortable because of the polarization of styles in home and school.

The feedback from work conferences, observations, and reports was supplemented by group interviews, which revealed many varying reactions as well as certain attitudinal factors that appeared to pervade all the programs.

The chairman of each Visitation Team posed a series of searching questions in interviews with each group of participants and with instructional staff. When asked, "What is the responsibility of the auxiliary in a classroom?" an unequivocal answer came through in all projects from the auxiliaries themselves: "To help the teacher teach." To the follow-up question, "What, then, is teaching?" the answers tended to come more slowly, both from auxiliary-participants and teacher-participants, meeting separately. The hesitation of the latter group may have stemmed from the difficulty of adjusting to a more complex and important level of professionalism with emphasis upon diagnosis, program planning, and leadership functions. It appears that teachers, by and large, have not yet been prepared either by colleges of teacher education or by inservice training programs to orchestrate other adults in the classroom, since this is a relatively new responsibility for those in the teaching profession.

It should be remembered, however, that these teachers had *volunteered* for the program. Some of the same reactions were apparent even among teachers in the practicum who were not enrolled in the training program, as they became more comfortable about the unusual experience of having another adult in the classroom, but acceptance was far slower and more difficult without training and sometimes was withheld completely.

Observers within and outside the projects perceived in participants several attitudinal changes and new insights which appeared to have direct relation to the new training experience: 1) the auxiliaries reported a new feeling of confidence, hope, and aspiration; 2) the teacher-participants in most of the projects expressed a change in their image of poor people, which paralleled and reinforced the auxiliaries' improved self-image; 3) both types of participants agreed that low-income auxiliaries could facilitate communication with pupils and their parents in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, even to the point of eliciting a twinge of jealousy from some of the teacher-participants; and 4) there was general agreement among the teachers and auxiliaries that the latter could, when trained and encouraged to do so, contribute to the learning-teaching process, and that their activities should, therefore, not be restricted to routine clerical or custodial functions, *provided the selection criteria utilized were consistent with a broad role concept*. The extent of involvement in the learning-teaching process depended upon the ability and potential of the auxiliaries. Most projects picked the cream of the crop among the economically and educationally disadvantaged. Only Howard and Ohio made an effort to reach potential dropouts.

Finally, there appeared to be consensus among the various observers of the program that realistic appraisal and interpretation of the policies, needs, and expectations of the local school system with respect to the utilization of auxiliaries were essential to prevent false hopes leading to frustration; but realism regarding employment opportunities does not need to connote defeatism. The observers saw role development as a dynamic and continuing process in which professionals, nonprofessionals, educational institutions, and the community all have responsibilities. However, the anxiety of many participants about their eventual employment, despite the assurances from school authorities, caused a major deficit in morale.

Follow up has revealed thus far that in three of the projects, placement after training turned out to be a problem despite prior commitments by employers. In another project, where there was 100 per cent placement, inadequate communication between the school system and the sponsoring institution resulted in underutilization of the auxiliaries, who were assigned only clerical and custodial tasks although they had demonstrated potential at a higher level. In the majority of programs, 100 per cent placement has been reported, and in one of them (Puerto Rico) all the trainees were enrolled in a work-study program in the University. In the three projects where the school system was the sponsor, placement and the possibility of upgrading were unquestioned. However, the total picture throughout the country indicates that institutionalization of auxiliaries within the school structure is still a hope and a dream, and very far from a reality. The training demonstration proved its point, but the question remains–*training for what*: for temporary, uncertain, dead-end jobs, or for stable, open-ended employment?

SUMMARY OF FACTORS WHICH APPEARED TO FACILITATE LEARNING

The elements in the demonstration training programs which were identified by Visitation Teams and directors of individual programs as particularly effective in implementing project goals were:

1. Cooperative planning by school systems, institutions of higher learning, community action agencies, professional associations, instructional staff, and participants.
2. Skill training which is realistic in terms of local employment opportunities, but also geared to future potentialities in the utilization of auxiliary personnel by the local school system.
3. Inclusion of both auxiliaries and teachers in the trainee group, preferably as teams who will work together in an actual school situation after the training.
4. Opportunity for experiential learning coupled with scheduled time for daily analysis of practicum experiences by the teacher-auxiliary teams, and shared planning for the next class situation based on this analysis.
5. Theoretical instruction for auxiliaries in foundations of child development, interpersonal relations, life conditions of disadvantaged pupils, and the school as an institution.
6. Basic education for auxiliaries in communication and language arts leading to high school equivalency where necessary, as well as skill training in technical and service operations such as typing, record keeping, and operation of audiovisual equipment.
7. Availability of individual and/or group counseling to help participants deal with their personal needs, as well as their growth in job performance, to foster interaction among professionals and nonprofessionals, and to help teachers accept their new role as orchestrators of other adults in the classroom.

III. ANALYSIS OF ROLE PERCEPTIONS

By Esin Kaya

In order to identify the auxiliary functions which each group—auxiliary-trainees, teacher-trainees, and instructional staff—perceived as frequently performed by auxiliaries, an Activity Sheet (Appendix V) was developed listing 95 possible functions. This instrument was administered to each group before and after training.

The suggested functions were grouped for purposes of analysis into three clusters which constituted three possible roles for auxiliaries in a school setting. Cluster I consisted of those functions which seemed to relate to and support instruction, including both affective and cognitive factors. The functions in Cluster II were task-oriented rather than pupil-oriented, including such duties as clerical, monitorial, escorting, and general routine duties which, though requiring no professional expertise, often consume a large portion of a teacher's working day. Cluster III was a grouping of functions deemed inappropriate or at least of questionable value when performed by an auxiliary, including functions which were perceived as "taking over" the teaching function and those considered poor practices in education.

Three types of data analysis were utilized: rank-order, analysis of variance, and the correlation of personal characteristics of auxiliaries with certain success criteria. Only rank-order is presented in this section. The other types of data analysis are described in Appendix VI.

The rank-order analysis revealed a high degree of mutuality in perception of the auxiliary role—mutuality as between pretest and post-test, as between auxiliaries and instructional staff, and as between functions considered helpful when performed by an auxiliary and those perceived as frequently delegated to auxiliaries.

In all these instances those items which the researchers had deemed harmful or questionable when performed by an auxiliary were perceived by the vast majority of respondents as inappropriate. Items related to instruction were favored over the task-oriented or instrumental functions by both auxiliaries and staff, before and after training.

One possible explanation of this mutuality of perception is that the trainees were rectuited, tested, interviewed, and selected in terms of the programs' objectives, which stressed the utilization of auxiliaries in more than simple clerical or custodial tasks. There seemed to be a "Hawthorne effect" operating from the outset. ("Hawthorne effect" refers to the classic study of human relations at the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric which proved that participation in an experiment has an effect on the behavior studied.) The results of the data analysis indicate that the initial hopes and expectations both of the participants and of staff were later substantiated by experience, which may account for the spirit of adventure, zeal, and high hope which seemed to permeate the programs when observed by study teams.

An analysis of items in the top quartile for pretest and post-test reveals a high proportion of instruction-related activities perceived as helpful by auxiliaries–13 out of 24. (See Appendix VII for rank-order of all 95 items.) This proportion was identical before and after training, but the actual items varied and should be viewed qualitatively, item by item, as well as quantitatively. Table I lists the instruction-related items which were favored by auxiliaries both before and after training, in terms of the helpfulness of such functions when performed by an auxiliary under the direct supervision of the teacher.

TABLE I

PUPIL-ORIENTED ITEMS IN TOP QUARTILE FOR COMPOSITE SCORES OF ALL PROJECTS BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER TRAINING REGARDING HELPFULNESS OF ITEMS

Item Description	Rank-Order in Post-test
Taking charge of a small group which is working on a special project while the teacher works with another group	1
Helping pupils learn how to settle arguments without fighting	3
Playing games with pupils (such as rhyming, guessing, finger games)	4
Talking quietly with a pupil who is upset	7
Interesting a restless pupil in some of the available activities	8
Listening to a pupil tell a story	12
Giving a pupil a chance to show he can do something well	13
Reading and telling stories to pupils	15
Helping pupils learn to play together (such as teaching them to take turns, share toys and other materials)	17
Encouraging pupils to help each other	21

One particular item which was ranked relatively low in the pretest but which fell in the top quartile for auxiliaries in the post-test is worthy of mention:

Encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves	 18

This addition to the favored items after training reveals the emphasis put upon motivation in the practicum experience. Further, it reflects and supports the belief that the auxiliary can aid in the attempt to raise aspiration and achievement levels of the disadvantaged.

Despite the essential agreement in role perceptions there was a slight movement toward a more realistic view of the helpfulness of unsophisticated tasks, as evidenced by the fact that the top ten items in terms of increased scores from pre- to post-test included eight task-oriented items and only two pupil-oriented items (boldface in Table II).

TABLE II

TEN HIGHEST RANKING ITEMS IN TERMS OF INCREASE OF SCORES BETWEEN PRE- AND POST-TEST

Item Description	Pre-Post Difference
Passing out and collecting pupils' materials	 263
Running a duplicating machine	 169
Doing errands and carrying messages	 167
Encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves	 156
Playing a musical instrument for the pupils	 155
Helping pupils get ready to put on an assembly program (such as making costumes, making scenery, listening to pupils rehearse)	 120
Weighing and measuring a pupil	 111
Collecting milk money, money for lunch tickets or other needs	 103
Helping a teacher make arrangements for a trip	 102
Operating equipment such as movie projector, slide projector, and tape recorder	 87

This slight movement toward reality was in the direction of staff's perceptions, which from the outset had stressed the duality of role, balancing pupil-oriented and task-oriented functions.

Appendix VIII presents a pre-post comparison of the type of items favored by auxiliaries in individual projects. It is significant that at Riverside there was a considerably larger percentage (53%) of pupil-oriented items favored by auxiliaries after training than for any of the other projects. In fact, all of the top ten ranking items were pupil-oriented. Table III gives the subclusters under which these items fell, i.e., cognitive or affective.

TABLE III

TOP TEN RANKED ITEMS AT RIVERSIDE
(Helpful – Post-test)

Cluster and Subcluster	Rank-Order	Item Description
I Cognitive	1	Taking charge of small groups while teacher works with another group
I Affective	2	Listening to pupils tell a story
I Affective	3	Giving a pupil a chance to show he can do something well
I Affective	4	Encouraging pupils to help each other
I Affective	5	Encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves
I Affective	6	Interesting a restless pupil in some of the available activities
I Affective	7	Helping pupils settle arguments without fighting
I Affective	8	Talking quietly with a pupil who is upset
I Cognitive	9	Helping pupil look up information in a book
I Cognitive	10	Helping pupils improve special skills (such as gym, or sewing, or dancing)

The causal factor for this differential does not appear to lie in the personal characteristics of the auxiliaries, since there was nothing to set Riverside's auxiliary-trainees apart from the trainees participating in other projects. As in other projects the trainees were at or below the poverty level. The age range was broader than for any other project, and there was a mixed racial and ethnic grouping including blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Caucasians born in the United States.

The search for the distinguishing features of Riverside led to a cross-projects comparison of the various training processes. It seems clear that herein lies the difference. Riverside, programmatically, placed greatest emphasis of any of the projects upon sensitivity training, a fact which appears to be reflected in the affective items listed in Table III (2 to 8), all of which involve keen sensitivity to the pupils' needs. The study team reported that the daily sensitivity training was reinforced in the practicum experience and in the analysis of that experience by every teacher-auxiliary team each day. The use of videotaped reproductions of the practicum experience in the analysis was another unique feature of the Riverside Project. The combination of these unusual components appears to be reflected in the orientation toward instruction-related items after training.

In five projects (Ball State, South Florida, Maine, N Y U , and Southern Illinois) the items in Cluster II (noninstructional) had the highest percentage of auxiliary responses in the top 24. In each of these programs there was a strong emphasis on skill training for noninstructional tasks. At Ball State, where the percentage of noninstructional items favored by auxiliaries showed the greatest increase from pretest to post-test (31% to 44%), the school principals were responsible for the planning of the training program. They had expressed concern to the Visitation Team that professional standards might be lowered if auxiliaries were allowed to perform functions too closely related to the learning-teaching process. In Maine and Illinois there were state laws limiting the functions which nonprofessionals may perform, a fact which is reflected in the items favored by auxiliaries in these programs. The Illinois statute has since been rescinded, permitting auxiliaries to perform a wider variety of functions.

Three other projects, Detroit, Jackson, and Northern Arizona, emphasized similar content in their programs along with an emphasis, to varying degrees, on child development and the learning process. This balance in content appears to be reflected in the relatively even distribution of pupil-oriented and task-oriented items in the top 24 after training.

	Cluster I	Cluster II
Detroit	33.3%	34.4%
Jackson	30.6%	34.4%
Northern Arizona	33.3%	34.4%

The analysis of the 24 lowest ranked items reveals a preponderance of items deemed negative or doubtful in value when performed by an auxiliary. These "negative" items were ranked low by both auxiliaries and staff before and after training. The items classified as "Poor Practice" were lowest in rank-order, then came most of the items classified as "Teacher Function." There seems to be mutuality of perception as to what auxiliaries should not do, with the exception of the auxiliary-trainees in Puerto Rico. There, the training was geared to the possibility that the auxiliaries would eventually become teachers in the schools of Puerto

Rico. Because this was a real possibility for auxiliaries, in many cases their assignments in the practicum classes approximated those of the professional teacher. In their responses 11.1 per cent of "negative" items were included in the top 24. These were classified for purposes of this Study as "Teacher Functions:" Taking charge of a class when the teacher is sick; taking responsibility for class for a few minutes; and organizing outdoor activity for class–functions which they realistically could be expected to perform in their situation and for which their training in the practicums was preparing them.

As indicated earlier, the rank-order analysis reveals a high degree of mutuality of role perceptions in many areas.

SUMMARY OF SALIENT FINDINGS REGARDING ROLE PERCEPTIONS

1. A high degree of mutuality in perceptions of the auxiliary role is revealed–mutuality as between pretest and post-test, as between auxiliaries and instructional staff, and as between functions considered helpful when performed by an auxiliary and those perceived as frequently delegated to auxiliaries.
2. Pupil-related items predominate among the functions deemed most helpful when performed by an auxiliary (13 out of the top ranking 24).
3. The inclusion of a considerable proportion of task-oriented activities among the favored items (9 out of 24) indicates recognition on the part of the auxiliaries that their role has a dual nature, both pupil-oriented and task-oriented.
4. Items of negative or doubtful impact were, to a great extent, excluded by the auxiliaries and the instructional staff from the favored items (2 out of 24).
5. The major increase in the auxiliaries' perception of helpful activities, in post-test as compared to pretest, occurred in respect to the task-oriented items, indicating a movement by auxiliaries toward a more realistic appraisal of their role after training.
6. Intercorrelations across projects reveal that differences among processes in the training program are likely to have a greater effect on success in the program than the personal characteristics of the auxiliary-trainees.
7. Combining the projects for an intercorrelation matrix for the auxiliaries' personal characteristics and the success criteria leads to a "washing out" of several significant findings observable in the individual projects.
8. Some interesting correlations are revealed by analysis of variance in individual projects, for example, class differences and the degree of organization appear to have been role determinants for the auxiliaries in several projects, particularly with respect to their expectations prior to training, but racial and ethnic factors in these same projects had no discernible impact upon role perceptions (see Appendix VI).

AUXILIARY TRAINING IN RIVERSIDE — A PROFILE

Sponsored by
University of California Extension
Riverside, California

Study Team: Don Davies
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Report by
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"Properly selected and trained, an auxiliary from a disadvantaged neighborhood should be very helpful to a 'middle class' teacher in providing a more meaningful and effective learning environment." This statement from the director of the project sponsored by the University of California at Riverside expresses the conviction on which the project was built. He said further, "I feel that adding an auxiliary to an overcrowded classroom is a good thing, but I view providing jobs for people needing work as even more significant; discovering what they can do in building relationships between school, home and community; and utilizing their experiential knowledge and insights about children—many of whom come from economically deprived circumstances similar to their own."

With funding from OEO, the University designed a program which would prepare 40 auxiliaries to assist teachers with the elementary and junior high school instructional functions, and to prepare teachers to use auxiliaries effectively. This purpose was paralleled by the intention of showing that such teaching assistants can make significant contributions toward the development of an exciting learning program. Also among the objectives of the program were the improvement of interpersonal relations in the schools and the strengthening of school-community relations through the involvement of community adults in meaningful roles in the educational program. Another objective of the program was to prepare 45 junior high school students as assistants in timed observations for the collection of specific data (referred to as "eyeball stuff" by the project staff—not as interpretation). It was hoped that possible benefits to both the quality of education and the development of the junior high school students would be demonstrated by this endeavor.

The development of this program was facilitated by the professional staff's previous experience with a similar project at Val Verde Elementary School (in Perris, California), discussed in detail in *New Careers for Nonprofessionals in Education*, published in 1966 by the University of California Extension at Riverside. Most of the training and research staff in the 1966 project had served in the Val Verde Project. On the staff of the program discussed here were four nonprofessionals: three women and a man. The women were two housewives and a college student. The man was previously unemployed.

A 20-room elementary school, the Del Norte Public School in Ontario (California), was used by the program. The junior high students were instructed in another school.

As part of the preplanning program the director consulted with the administrative and consultant staff of the Ontario District Superintendent of Schools. The preplanning consultations involved the needs of the school system in terms of auxiliary personnel training, orientation of teachers to work with auxiliaries, and the development of policies compatible with requirements of both this project and the University Extension course, "Procedures for Improving Classroom Instruction." The course was scheduled at the request of the Ontario School District. All professionals on the project staff had taken the course in the 1965-66 academic year. Among the emphases of the course was the use of parent volunteers or paid auxiliaries, cross-age teaching, and using classroom discussion groups as a means of dealing more effectively with behavior and motivation to learn.

PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

The teacher-participants were recruited from Extension courses which had been held during the first and second semesters of the 1965-66 academic year. The selection of these 20 professionals was made by a committee composed of two principals, one curriculum consultant, and two teachers.

The composition of the auxiliary-participants gives an indication of Ontario's mixed population. Included were 35 Caucasians, of whom ⅓ were Mexican-Americans, and five black people. Three-quarters of them qualified as below poverty level. There were 38 women and two men.

The auxiliaries were recruited through advertisement of the program in community newspapers and the Union Newsletter. Principals in schools where candidates had children enrolled and teachers who were in the Val Verde Project and knew some of the parents informed some candidates about the program. Sixty candidates responded. During six small-group sessions (ten candidates at a time), they were interviewed by a selection committee composed of three principals, one teacher, and three people who had been auxiliary-trainees in the Val Verde Project. These interviews took place during the week before the opening date of the program. The project staff found the late and hurried procedure unsatisfactory, but late funding made any other procedure impossible.

Candidates were selected on the basis of fondness for children, patience, a high level of tolerance, willingness to accept responsibility, restraint in the use of crude or abusive language, willingness to refrain from use of physical force or coercion, absence of any record of cruelty toward children, special talent or skills, and availability for employment in the fall.

PURPOSES

The program was designed to prepare the auxiliary to function in seven discrete areas which had been developed from the experimentation of the Val Verde Program. These functions were chosen for this project because the staff believed the performance of these functions would contribute to the growth and development of the children being taught. These functions relate mainly to the affective side of the learning-teaching process. They are:

1. Listener—listens to as many as six children read, tell stories, etc.
2. Trouble-shooter—works with overly active children (up to eight) on learning and behavioral problems, helps them plan learning activities.
3. Relator—works with children who seem isolated, alone a great deal, or have crises at home. Helps new children become adjusted. Done individually or in small groups.
4. Supporter—supports children who get hurt and discouraged in learning activities, especially new tasks.
5. Inspirer—works with children as they show signs of creativity. Takes them away from class for library work and possibly on field trips for observation and research.
6. Linker—visits homes and the community, interprets goals of the school and progress of the children. Communicates community and home information to the teacher.
7. Trainer—helps older children work with younger children in cross-age teaching. Offers support to aide/tutor training.

As the summer Institute proceeded, and the teachers and aides had an opportunity to test the performance of these functions in the practicum classrooms, they found the functions to be particularly beneficial to the disadvantaged children with whom the aides were working. For example, the aides discovered that children coming from large families and in large classes rarely met an adult with whom they could talk and who would take time to listen to them as individuals. The listener, for children who speak English as a second language, played an even more crucial role. He became an adult who could provide corrective feedback in English, as well as providing an opportunity for the child to practice his second language.

The trouble-shooter's function was to help the teacher in understanding the aggressive and hyperactive child, and to help the child control himself and others. Teachers found that they could not, in many cases, anticipate when a disturbance was about to erupt in their classroom because their attention was directed specifically to the small group with whom they were working. The trouble-shooter could often identify the symptoms of incipient trouble, and move in to intervene, or could call it to the teacher's attention.

The relater was in a position to work with children who appeared to be isolated and did not interact with many other children. Through individual work with such children the aides discovered that this isolation was often the effect of instability in the child's family, a death, hunger, or even violence in the family—an event which was not uncommon.

Other activities for which aides were prepared and for which, in the practicum, they and the teachers discovered the need, were: 1) offering support to children, individually or in groups, where children had known few success experiences and were reluctant to try new things; 2) providing opportunities for children to learn from events and materials around them; 3) encouraging children to explore new areas of interest; 4) helping older children plan learning experiences for younger children; and 5) acting as a link between school and home. Some auxiliaries made home visits which were designed to develop and extend the children's previously limited relationship with adults.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

The daily program began at 8:00 a.m. with a planning session for the teachers and auxiliaries who would be working together in the practicum. The three-hour practicum followed, from 9:00 to 12:00. This was a real classroom situation in which the teachers and auxiliaries worked together, with the auxiliaries performing the functions for which they were being trained. The teacher-auxiliary teams then met for one-and-a-half hours' evaluation session beginning at about 1:15 p.m. The project day closed with a two-hour session of all the participants and staff, from 3:00 to 5:00 p.m. for Training in Human Relations, also referred to as Sensitivity Training. Home visits were made before and after the work dav, during lunch, and occasionally during the time alloted for the discussion period.

The early afternoon team meetings were devoted to discussion of the actual experience of the practicum and of data collected from home visits. Topics of discussion also included problems of communication, characteristics of the economically deprived and culturally disadvantaged child, and literature from the social sciences about teaching and learning.

The large group session for Training in Human Relations brought together all 70 of the people involved in the project. The session was modeled on the "Therapeutic Comments" concepts of Maxwell Jones and somewhat after the Human Relations Training Program of the National Training Laboratory. The instructional staff, the teacher-participants, and the auxiliaries discussed personal and interpersonal problems in an effort to develop standards of appropriate behavior.

The 45 junior high school students followed a somewhat similar schedule. Three teachers, one junior high school principal, and two auxiliaries (one of whom had worked on the Val Verde Project) were directly involved in the preparation of the students to act as process observers in the elementary school. These students worked in clusters with the teacher-participants, to learn research and observational techniques so that they could provide, not conceptual or evaluative feedback, but "eyeball stuff."

Closed circuit television was used in the project to aid the staff and participants in self-evaluation as well as in their research in the learning-teaching process. Four television video tape recorders were used for the project, with each team of two junior high students handling a camera, monitor, and recorder.

ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS PERCEPTIONS OF AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS

As in all projects, the questionnaire, prepared at a Work Conference of Project Directors, was distributed in the Riverside Project before and after training to both staff and participants, who were asked to react to the helpfulness of such functions when performed by auxiliaries. The 95 suggested functions were later grouped into three clusters for purposes of analysis: those which seemed pupil-oriented (Cluster I); those which seemed task-oriented (Cluster II); and those which appeared harmful or at least of doubtful value when performed by an auxiliary (Cluster III). These "negative" items were included to require some judgment by the respondents, as they reacted to the checklist. The clustering was essentially tentative and exploratory. (See Appendix VII for composite scores, indicating the cluster and subcluster for each item.)

Listed in Table IV are the ten items most favored by auxiliaries in the Riverside Project *after* training (i.e., the ten highest ranked items in the post-test regarding helpfulness).

Riverside was the only project in which all ten of the top ranking items were pupil-oriented (Cluster I). It is striking that of those ten items, seven were grouped in the subcluster as affective, and three were subgrouped as cognitive. This datum seems even more dramatic when viewed in relation to process. Riverside, programmatically, placed greatest emphasis of any of the projects upon sensitivity training, which took place every day from 3:00 to 5:00 p.m. The focus on sensitivity was reinforced in the practicum experience, in the daily review of that experience by auxiliary-teacher teams, and in the use of videotaped reproductions of these experiences for purposes of self-evaluation. The combination of these unique components appeared to be reflected in the orientation toward pupil-oriented functions in the post-test for auxiliaries who were fairly typical of the composition of the total group of trainees in terms of

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF PERCEPTIONS OF THE HELPFULNESS OF AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS AFTER TRAINING IN RIVERSIDE PROJECT

		Rank-Order in Post-test (Data available for aides only.)		
Cluster	Description of Ten Items Ranked Highest by Aides	Aides	Teachers	Staff
I	Taking charge of a small group which is working on a special project.	1		
I	Listening to a pupil tell a story.	2		
I	Giving a pupil a chance to show how he can do something well.	3		
I	Encouraging pupils to help each other.	4		
I	Encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves.	5		
I	Interesting a restless pupil in some of the available activities.	6		
I	Helping pupils learn how to settle arguments without fighting.	7		
I	Talking quietly with a pupil who is upset.	8		
I	Helping a pupil look up information in a book.	9		
I	Helping pupils improve special skills (such as in gym, sewing, or dancing).	10		

mixed ethnic background and low socio-economic status. This outcome reinforced the finding mentioned earlier that differences among processes in the training program are likely to have a greater effect upon learning than the personal characteristics of the trainees.

An analysis of those items ranked in the top ten after training but not before training further substantiates the impact of the training process on the auxiliaries. The following significant items were some of those deemed helpful by the auxiliaries after they were exposed to Riverside's Program: 1) giving a pupil a chance to show he can do something well; 2) encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves; 3) talking quietly with a pupil who is upset.

Again it seems that Riverside's emphasis on sensitivity training caused auxiliaries to deem most helpful that which the Study Team perceived to be highly beneficial to the pupil when performed by an auxiliary.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE PROGRAM FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

As one member of the Visitation Team said, "The innovations of the project were impressive." Use of junior high school students as observers, the use of closed circuit television to record the sessions, cross-age teaching, and the experimental sensitivity training were among the innovative techniques employed and explored in the program, in an attempt to demonstrate the possible roles or functions of both professionals and auxiliaries in a classroom.

The project staff believed that the junior high school students' participation in the project was the weakest, most anxiety-producing element of the entire program. However, teacher-participants, in a group interview, agreed that while this experiment was not easy, it was profitable and might lead to new concepts of the contributions of such students to social science.

It was found when the staff divided the 45 students into two groups–one to act as observers, the other as cross-age teachers–that the junior high students were more effective as cross-age teachers than as observers. Using them as nonparticipating observers in the classroom proved not uniformly successful, according to the project staff, inasmuch as it distorted the environment of the classroom and created hostility toward the observers. The project director noted that "the junior high youngsters who worked with the video equipment were exceedingly reliable and effective. I suspect," he added, "there is something developmental in all this: perhaps boys at this age like to work with gadgets, the second most interesting thing for them to do would be cross-age teaching, and the third and least interesting would be observation and research. But there is something very fundamental about the relationship of the junior high youngsters to the total project. It is probably the 'intergenerational' problem. Older people have great difficulty understanding teenagers and vice versa. Though we had some success with breakthroughs, we would have needed much more time to develop this kind of approach to adequate effectiveness. The young students appeared to be willing, but the adults seemed less so."

Teachers and auxiliaries appeared to learn more from the confrontation with themselves on television than they could have from any verbal description of what had taken place in the classroom. The value of the closed circuit television was indicated by what the project staff held to be impressive behavior changes and by new insights for the participants.

With the assistance of auxiliaries it was also possible for the program to explore the educative factors in the utilization of cross-age relationships in the classroom. This was an experiment begun at Val Verde and further developed during this program.

Participant evaluation of the sensitivity training revealed need for a program with more emphasis on sensitivity training than on sensitivity experience. The staff felt that the participants used the session too much for investigation of the personalities of those involved in the program and not enough for utilizing its value in the practicum and in the overall educative process.

Discussion with the participants indicated that few wished to remove the sensitivity training from the program, but many felt it would be more beneficial with more direction. One suggestion was to cut the size of the group: 70 people form too large a group for such training. The project staff believed that while a large group gives reactions in breadth, a small group meaningfully gives reactions in depth.

The range of the participants' response to the sensitivity training can be gauged from the following exchange:

"It's been a complete waste of time. It's a whipping for me every day from three to five o'clock."

"I disagree. It was excellent. It helped me to understand myself and to understand and tolerate others."

Despite the range of reactions, it appeared that considerably more participants reacted favorably to the experience than did not. In the final week of the program, after school was over, the participants had options of meeting regularly for sensitivity training or doing other things in winding up the project. Most chose to attend the sensitivity training.

During the interview with teachers which was conducted by the Study Team, the chairman asked the teacher-participants to describe how they had felt about the idea of having a teacher-aide to assist in their own classrooms before the project. Most of the responses indicated that the teachers had had misgivings. Some responded that they felt threatened by the possibility of another adult "invading" their classroom. One replied, "I had time to do what I should do as a teacher, and I didn't think I needed any extra help, or that anyone else could be involved in a helpful manner." However, they asserted that their opinions toward aides had changed in the course of the project.

"A year ago I had an entirely different concept of teacher-aides. I didn't really think they should enter into teaching–today I do."

One teacher gave her reasons for changing her mind toward the use of aides. "Aides provide an opportunity to reduce the teacher-pupil ratio. This is a tremendous opportunity to improve the instruction that takes place in the classroom. Although the aide does not do the instructing, he makes it possible for the instruction to improve. To reduce class size in California by one pupil would mean building 5,000 new classrooms. While this is physically impossible, it is not so impossible to add an aide to the classroom, increasing the number of adults who can focus on the children's needs."

One person from the Visitation Team who had found the entire project "daring, sincere, and consistent," said, "innovation usually means doing in your own school for the first time, something which has already been done down the road; innovation should mean something which has never been tried before." Riverside tried many things which had not been tried before, succeeded in some but contributed to research in the learning-teaching process in all.

GROUP INTERVIEW AFTER PLACEMENT (1967)

Report by Garda W. Bowman

An unusual opportunity for evaluation of this program was provided: a group interview with 12 auxiliary-trainees who had been placed in the Ontario School System and several teacher-trainees who were employed in that same system.

The auxiliaries described their respective functions, which varied considerably from one to another, but which had several common features. All reported some personal contacts with the children. Many indicated that the emphasis upon listening in the Summer Institute had made these contacts more meaningful. Yard duty was seen by several auxiliaries as far more than a monitorial function. Rather, it appeared to them as an opportunity to relate to the children. Apparently these auxiliaries found reinforcement and ways of expressing their interest in the affective elements of their role–an interest which was evident in their reactions to the questionnaire.

Significant variations of functions and responsibilities were reported which seemed to be determined largely by the capabilities of the auxiliaries. For example: home visits, access to confidential files, and contacts with Spanish-speaking parents were provided for some auxiliaries and not for others. In certain cases, auxiliaries who were not assigned home visits on school time were allowed to make such visits on their own time; they eagerly volunteered for this service.

It was particularly interesting to note that a belief appeared to be shared by all the auxiliaries interviewed that the skills they had learned at the Institute were, in fact, being utilized despite the wide range of activities reported. It therefore seems that the auxiliaries who had more limited roles accepted these limitations and trusted the teachers with whom they had trained and who were not responsible for assigning functions to individual auxiliaries.

The equitable and efficient utilization of the auxiliaries may have stemmed in part from the fact that the Supervisor of Reading in the Ontario School System had served on the instructional staff of the Institute. This continuity was in sharp contrast to another project where inadequate communication between the sponsoring University and the school system prevailed. In the latter instance, auxiliaries who had been trained to assist in the instructional process were utilized as general school aides with little or no contact with the children.

The major problem in continuity between the training and the employment situations appeared to concern teacher-trainees. All these teacher-trainees had become enthusiastic about the potentiality of utilizing auxiliaries in the classroom, but not all were assigned aides by their principals when they returned to their respective schools, to the keen disappointment of the teachers who were deprived of the opportunity to apply their new insights in their own classroom. This outcome, even under conditions of close cooperation between the sponsoring institution and the local school system, is further evidence of the need for inservice training of those who will actually be working together, rather than prolonged training prior to employment.

In essence, the follow-up interview reflected the affective emphasis of the Institute which had been reinforced by school-university cooperation in planning, training and implementation.

FOLLOW-UP STUDY (1968)

Report by Donald Wilson

Twenty-four persons who had been trained in the Del Norte Project but not placed in the Ontario School System were interviewed in a follow-up study of The Riverside Project.

Three of the 40 trainees had moved away from the area, one had died, and 12 were placed in Ontario, leaving 24 trainees not so placed who were available for interviews. The geographical distribution was as follows:

Community of Residence	No. of Trainees Not Placed in Ontario
Claremont	1
Cucamonga	2
Ontario (including Montclair)	18
Pomona	2
Upland	1
	24

A large proportion of trainees is from Ontario because of the school system's offer of employment.

Of the 24 not placed in Ontario, only one was employed as a teacher aide—a black woman living in Pomona, employed in a school with black students. In addition, one of the three nonprofessionals from the Mead Valley Area who served as part of the training staff for the Del Norte Project was employed as a teacher aide in a school for the mentally retarded. One of the three former staff members moved away, and the third, a male, was unemployed at the time of the follow-up interviews. All three former staff members are black living in a small poverty-pocket rural town almost wholly populated by black people.

The remaining trainees found other employment such as seasonal employment in agriculture. One woman from Pomona was employed in an institute for women. She stated that her participation in the project had played a role in her being hired, although she believed her personal history was perhaps most instrumental in her attaining her present position. Two trainees had married and were not seeking employment.

An analysis of the employment status of the 36 trainees who remained in the area raises a question as to the basis for selection by the Ontario School System, when they were forced by cut-backs in Title I funds to reduce the number employed to only 12. The Director of the Del Norte Project reports that one major condition for participation in the Del Norte Project was that 75% of the trainees were to come from the poverty category. The main consideration in hiring was that the person selected was not known to have been excessively cruel to children. Academic training was not considered critically important. The auxiliaries from the nonpoverty category had all given volunteer assistance in the schools of Ontario and had completed one University Extension course related to possible roles of auxiliaries in the classroom. They could be classified as middle-class.

When forced to select only 12 of the 40 trainees, the Ontario School District employed more of those who seemed middle-class oriented than those who were not, according to the director of the Del Norte Project and the interviewer in the Follow-Up Study. This may be attributable in part to their previous volunteer assistance and their University training, but the director expressed disappointment that the School System did not utilize this opportunity to relate meaningfully with poor people.

Some of the trainees who were employed in Ontario believed that those who were passed over had been the most outspoken in the sensitivity training program. They believed that the two black women and one Mexican-American who were employed were reserved, reluctant to express their views, and always pleasant and conforming. The inclusion of supervisors from the Ontario School System on the training staff of the Del Norte Project made it possible for representatives of the school system to assess characteristics of the trainees. The nonplaced trainees also expressed disappointment that the two male participants–Mexican-American heads of families from the poverty pocket–were not employed.

The selection of teacher aides seems to have been based on personality traits rather than on discrimination as to race, color or creed. Since Title I ESEA funds were used, it was not required that the employees be at or below the poverty level. However, it seems unfortunate that for work in school areas where there was a heavy concentration of minority children, so few of the placed aides were of minority group background.

Results of Interviews. It should be noted at the outset that the information secured from those who were not placed was derived from informal conversations rather than from answers to precise questions as was the case with the placed teacher-aides. The restriction was due to the limited time that the interviewer was able to spend with each trainee. Each person was interviewed individually, and the geographic area covered eight towns and cities.

In most instances, the responses of the placed and non-placed trainees were similar. Exceptions are noted below. One exception has already been described, the fact that the nonplaced trainees believed that only pleasant, conforming, reserved trainees were employed, not those who expressed their ideas freely in the sensitivity training.

Why the Trainees Desired to Become Teacher Aides

1. The desire to work in some capacity with children, the school, education, and people.
2. The need for gainful employment.
3. One placed aide said she did not know why.

Role Expectations

1. Assistance to the teacher, as directed by her.
2. Work with children one-to-one and in small groups.

Perceptions of Placed Aides Regarding Teachers, Parents, Schools, and the Importance of Education

The following verbatim quotes illustrate the wide range of opinion in response to this question:

1. Teachers

   Teachers are nice people who have a magic way with children.

   I didn't realize how personally concerned most teachers are for their pupils individually.

   I realize now what a good job most teachers are trying to do.

   It will be a while before education reaches its highest point of value, the way some teachers are teaching.

   I didn't realize how badly suited some teachers are to their jobs.

2. Parents

   Before I did not realize how big a help parents can be to the school. I used to feel most teachers had the answer to why children did not respond in the classroom. The more I work with teachers, the more I find that they, themselves, are not the answer or do not have the answer.

3. Schools

   Schools are friendly, interesting places.

   I can see some need for updating schools.

4. The importance of Education

   Education is the greatest asset one could have.

   I used to think education needed a lot of changing. I see now that educators are slowly trying to make those changes.

Reactions of Placed Aides to How Their Roles and Functions Developed. It was the consensus of the aides who were placed in the Ontario School System that their roles and functions developed in their respective classrooms as a result of reliance upon their own creativity, not at the request of the teachers. They believed that some teachers did not at first perceive the aides' functions as being largely in terms of one-to-one or small group relationships with teachers. The aides' experience in the practicum of the Del Norte Project reinforced their confidence and their creativity in role development. The inclusion of school personnel in the training staff of the Del Norte Project was probably helpful in this respect.

The director of the Del Norte Project, after reading this report, stated: "It seems to me that probably the most basic implication of the report is that the deeply involving but unclear sensitivity sessions of the Del Norte Project must have played a major role in what happened to the auxiliaries who were hired. They must have had experiences that they can't seem to recognize or describe that helped them find ways of performing creatively in the classroom. This was the major impression I had after interviewing all of them during August, 1967, and Wilson's data seemed to support my impression. Sensitivity training was held every afternoon during the Del Norte Project.

Implications

1. The teacher aides' responsibilities and experiences in the Ontario School Systems were varied and rich.
2. There is great creativity in their utilization which seems to be initiated primarily by the aides.
3. The classroom teacher now has more time to prepare for and do the business of teaching.

V. AUXILIARY TRAINING IN WASHINGTON, D. C. – A PROFILE

Sponsored by
Institute for Youth Studies
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Study Team:
Don Davies
Garda W. Bowman
Harold Haizlip

William Denham, Director

Report by Garda W. Bowman

"We selected the kids who are usually screened out of special training programs. We screened them in."

The Director of the New Careers Training Project thus expressed the central theme of Howard University's testing of an experimental training model for high school seniors who were selected because they were low achievers (in the lowest tracks in Cardozo High School) and had been chronically absent.

This special program replaces the entire conventional twelfth grade high school program, providing instead a work-study program which included 1) a part-time paid work experience as teacher-aide or health-aide in the elementary schools of the Model School Division in Washington, D.C. and in the D.C. Department of Health; 2) an academic curriculum; and 3) a core group experience involving both personal and work-related counseling. Those seniors who successfully complete this year-long work-study program will receive high school diplomas and will also be qualified for positions as teacher-aides or health-aides in the Washington, D.C. School System or the D.C. Department of Health.

Unique among the 15 demonstration training programs coordinated by this Study, and also unique among programs for auxiliary school personnel throughout the country, this project reached the hard-to-reach and demonstrated untapped potential in many of those who have been unsuccessful in, and alienated from school. The response of these youth to special attention, earning while learning, and the prospect of meaningful employment would seem to indicate that many of those who have been perceived as "going nowhere" have the capacity to move forward and upward in programs geared specifically to their needs.

PURPOSES

This integrated academic and work-training experience had the following goals, according to the research design:

1. Upgrade the basic academic skills of the students so that further education or training beyond high school can become a realistic possibility for them.
2. Provide a curriculum and program that is relevant and meaningful to the students, so that students previously disinterested can be motivated to attend school regularly.
3. Develop in the students an understanding of their community and a desire to work for their community's improvement.
4. Provide a work-training experience that will provide the appropriate skills for a satisfactory job performance, and successful employment as human service aides.
5. Involve the students in decision making around curriculum planning and program operation.
6. Provide professional teachers with the opportunity to relate to students as instructor, core group leader, and counselor, and provide them with the opportunity to become more familiar with their students, their students' problems and their interests.

These objectives were amplified in the rationale of the Plan of Operation, thus:

"One of the most serious criticisms of education, be it for the advantaged or the disadvantaged, concerns the gap between what the student is taught in school and what he experiences outside the school.

"While many efforts have been initiated recently to improve the conventional educational program—small classes, team teaching, programmed instruction, teaching machines—little has actually been done to change the curriculum. A wide gap remains between the world of the classroom and the world of work.

"Closing this gap has been one of our major concerns of educators throughout the history of formal education. Today, the problem grows more complex because of the rapid pace of social change and the pressures of an expanding technology. Educators must therefore look with the greatest care at programs which seek to prepare students for specific jobs: they must ask themselves whether this training is for securing employment or whether it is simply training for obsolescence, for jobs that may disappear even before training ends. This program, which will train thirty high school seniors to fill paraprofessional positions in fields of human service, will not be training for obsolescence; in contrast to the content of many training programs, its body of knowledge, attitude development, and complement of skills are urgently needed in the rapidly expanding human service field which is not directly affected by automation. It is estimated, moreover, that the employment potential in this field is considerable.

"To say that the training of human service aides is based on an

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accurate appraisal of the employment potential is not to have closed the gap we speak of. We have dealt with only the 'what' of education and have yet to consider the 'how.' An individual who participates in a human service aide training program can feel secure that he has made a career choice that offers a bright future in the world of work. Once the student has made a career choice it becomes the responsibility of the training institution to develop a program that will meet his needs and prepare him to function successfully as a human service aide."

The New Careers Training Project then proceeded to test the "how" of such training in the model described below–a model which, it was hoped, would point the way toward expanding the training of potential school dropouts as auxiliary personnel in human service programs. A final goal was to develop a training model which might be incorporated into regular public school systems.

COMPOSITION OF THE PARTICIPANT GROUP

Twenty-seven trainees were selected, of whom 17 were male. This was the only project of the 15 demonstration programs in which men predominated. It may be hypothesized that it is less difficult to persuade young men to take such training while they are still in school than to persuade them to train as teacher-aides after they have left school. Once they have cut the ties with school, either by graduation or by dropping out, young men tend to seek vocational opportuniites that are more typically "masculine" than assisting in a classroom. The opportunity to earn money while still in school may also have been a factor in attracting male trainees.

METHODS OF SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT

Of those selected, approximately two-thirds were considered high risks, by reason of academic record, attendance record, family background, and a history of "acting out" their resentment of their life conditions in juvenile delinquency. The other third was considered low risks–those who had mediocre records but were not prone to "acting out" their resentment.

However, despite the generally low achievement, these youths had remained in school while many of their buddies had dropped out–an indication of some motivation for self-improvement.

The trainees were recruited by teachers who approached students in terms of their interest in participating in the program in accordance with the selection criteria.

In the early days of the project, a few trainees went back to regular programs in the high school, and the replacements were of slightly higher academic achievement. In general, however, the selection goals appeared to have been achieved, of reaching potential dropouts or those who might graduate and then find it difficult to secure employment.

Of the 27 participants, eight were in training as health-aides and the remainder as teacher-aides. All were black.

SETTING

The District of Columbia School system had an unusual number of problems that affected the aide training effort. A representative of one of the national educational associations described these problems as: "Poor financial support; antiquated school buildings, rigidity as to the track system, instructional program and administrative patterns; and reputedly low teacher morale."

Balancing this rather discouraging picture of alleged rigidity was the innovative potential in the Model School Division, which attempted, through special personnel and equipment, to move toward a more dynamic program. This project, closely related as it was to the Model School Division, partook of both the advantages of an experimental approach and the disadvantages of an antiquated school system.

The on-the-job training for teacher-aides took place in three schools of the Model School Division–Grimke, Harrison, and Monroe. The health-aides received their on-the-job training in facilities of the D.C. Department of Health.

The academic curriculum was provided mainly in Cardozo High School, in which the trainees were still enrolled. A few academic courses and the core group experience were conducted in a nearby church building because of inadequate space in the high school.

STAFF

The staff consisted of the project director, research director, project coordinator, director of academic instruction, master teacher, three skill specialists (mathematics, science and remediation), a health educator and a core group counselor.

Staff included people who were themselves experienced in various fields of human service and who were familiar with the academic requirements of the D.C. Public Schools. Only four staff members (the director of academic instruction, the program coordinator and two specialty instructors) were employed full-time on the project. Though this fact reduced the continuity and cohesion of the program, there was a certain advantage to be gained from the active relationship of the part-time staff to other ongoing training projects in "New Careers" operated by the Institute for Youth Studies–an agency with keen sensitivity to social problems and a long history of courageous and imaginative coping strategies.

STRUCTURE OF THE PROGRAM

In the initial stages, the general plan was to devote each morning to the work experience and afternoons to the academic curriculum. However, it became apparent that such a fragmented day was unproductive; so the trainees spent two almost full days on the job and one full day (Friday) on academic pursuits, with the other two days' work experience breaking at 11:00 a.m., when the trainees left school to engage in their academic work. The core group experience took place on Monday and Wednesday afternoons. At this time the trainees were divided into two groups of 13 and 14, respectively, to facilitate discussion.

The three components of the program–work experience, academic instruction, and core group experience (counseling sessions)–are described below.

Work Experience. In each of the three participating elementary schools, a few teachers who had volunteered to participate in the project were selected, and one aide was assigned to each cooperating teacher.

Prior to the opening of the project, a meeting with the three principals was held to explain the program and determine how the aide trainees would be utilized in their schools. Subsequently, an orientation program was held for the cooperating teachers and for the supervisors of the health-aides.

Class observations by the site Visitation Team revealed considerable variation in the roles and functions of aides. The degree of responsibility given to the aide and the extent of involvement with the pupils appeared to be a dynamic of each situation, varying in accordance with the personality of the teacher, the ability of the aide, and the particular need of the pupils.

One teacher described her use of the aide assigned to her: "I tell the aide what needs to be done, and he then plans his own schedule to accomplish the assigned tasks. He works particularly with one slow student who sits near him."

Another teacher said that she had to remind the aide every day of the routine tasks which were assigned to him. She expressed displeasure at such lack of initiative but countered this criticism by reporting that he had suggested a most interesting field trip for the pupils. She added that the boys had so identified with this personable young man that she noticed an improvement in their personal appearance. This teacher evidenced no apparent jealousy over the fact that pupils "really loved this aide." A black person herself, she seemed sincerely pleased that they had a male role model with whom to identify. However, she said that his emphasis upon being a "big brother" to the pupils seemed to weaken his control of the class; she could not assign monitorial duties to him when she was not present. Later the aide in a group interview stated that he wanted to be a friend, not an authority figure to the pupils. Because he disliked the necessity of exercising control, and because of the constant supervision of the teacher, he doubted that he wanted to become a teacher-aide, despite his success in relating to the children.

Many teachers appeared to use the aides primarily for checking papers, preparing bulletin boards and running a duplicating machine rather than in direct contact with the pupils. However, one teacher stated emphatically, when her aide was withdrawn from her class for a special assignment one day, "I find that I can't teach without him."

The health-aides were supervised by public health nurses assigned to schools or clinics. They kept records, weighed and measured the pupils, administered simple first aid, and were generally helpful to the nurses. Relations between the nurses and the aides seemed most cooperative.

Academic Curriculum. The rationale for the academic curriculum centered around the need to meet academic requirements for a D.C. high school senior and at the same time to capture the interest and stimulate the effort of low achievers. This need for a delicate balance between reality and ideal had been perceived by the staff. The program was concept-oriented with stress upon various areas, such as the idea of coping, roles, and relationships. It was believed that it was possible to operate at a relatively high level of content, with remediation of existing deficits brought in incidentally, but not overstressed. The central aim was to meet the needs of the pupils by having them make contact with learning as a process.

The rationale for the academic program was expressed in the Plan of Operation:

"Growing out of our commitment to realistic career training and criticism of traditional high school curriculum is our concept of the academic component of the Human Service Aides Program. Underlying our approach to classwork is the need to tie together the various backgrounds of thirty seniors and their on-the-job experiences in order to develop the behavior and attitudes necessary for a young adult to function effectively in our complex society. The curriculum goals for this program are those established for all graduating seniors in D.C. high schools: we want our thirty seniors, for example, to have a better understanding of themselves; we want them to understand their duties and responsibilities as American citizens; we want them to develop further their reading, writing, and reasoning skills so that they will be prepared for post-high school training. Experience in prior programs involving the New Careers Model has shown that once relevance has been established between school and the world of work, students themselves develop a desire to gain additional education.

"In meeting the demands for the training of human service aides, the academic component of this program of career training had a number of goals:

"1. The development of a curriculum that the students will see as meaningful and that will establish for them a strong connection between their job and their classwork.

"2. The development of a curriculum that will aid the students to see their own problems as youth living in poverty in a broader context, in order to provide an understanding of ways to grow out of poverty.

"3. The development of a curriculum as unified and interrelated as possible and which will be organized around themes and units rather than traditional subject areas.

"4. The development of a curriculum that, without sacrificing content or ideas,

> will provide remedial work for those who need it and the skills necessary for the success as human service aides.
>
> "5. The development of a curriculum that will meet the district school system's requirements for four Carnegie units: English, social studies, mathematics, and science.
>
> "The differences in our program from the conventional senior year for students in the General or Basic (Special Academic) Track lie in our emphasis on key areas of the curriculum, teaching strategies, and the instructional materials we will use. While the aide's job experience is an important fact in determining what goes into the curriculum, we broadly interpret the work experience to encompass many topics included in the traditional curriculum subdivided into subject areas. These topics, however, are rearranged in a sequence that will be integrated closely with the thirty aides' paraprofessional assignments.
>
> "To illustrate what this concept of a program of career training means, we include here a description of our first unit. This unit included work that would traditionally be begun with a goal and an idea. Our goal is to make our students' own experience central to everything we teach. Our idea for the first unit is that *man survives and prospers as he is able to cope with things unfamiliar and difficult.* The idea and the goal are one, for our students will be in the midst of very trying situations as they deal with this unit in class."

The Visitation Team was impressed by the consistency with which the concepts described above were applied to instructional content and process. However, the trainees, inured to a more conventional approach, expressed concern lest they were not learning the specific knowledge and skills they would need in the world of work. After all, these high school seniors had persisted, despite low marks and discouraging outlook, to work toward their diploma as a "union card" to the world of work. Some of the trainees complained that all the academic courses, whether supposedly in the field of English or social studies, ended up being a course in child development. This stemmed from the laudable desire of the instructional staff to relate all content to the work experience in elementary schools which was inevitably oriented toward child development. However, the trainees were accustomed to a compartmentalized and content-oriented approach and were concerned that they might be missing some essential information. A sudden switch from a content-oriented to a concept-oriented approach is indeed problematic. However, it is possible that unconscious desire for growth elements for the hitherto school-resistant trainees might be present in the situation.

The academic content was divided into three major categories: a modified high school curriculum, specialty training, and remedial work. In the modified high school curriculum, material was of necessity geared to satisfying the four Carnegie units of English, Mathematics, Social Studies, and Science. All subjects were taught in terms of real life situations. For example, mathematics was taught on the day of the site visitation through a simulated grocery store with a wide variety of packages on hand. It involved budgeting and planning as well as actual arithmetic, all in concrete terms rather than in abstractions.

Specialty training consisted of separate classes for health- and teacher-aides in which they learned the basic practical and concrete skills required on the job. The teacher-aide skills were further broken down into two sections: kindergarten through third grade, and fourth through sixth grade. At times the health- and teacher-aides met jointly for material relevant to both; at times the two skill instructors taught specific skills to each other's groups.

The remedial work was in the field of basic communications, with emphasis on oral skills. This focus was carried over into English, where oral reports to the whole group of trainees was a new experience for many of these low achievers who had not usually been called upon as reporters for workshop sessions. In this group of their peers, with an accepting climate in the classroom, many students found a latent ability within themselves for presenting the highlights of a "buzz session" to the entire class.

The health-aides had special courses in biology. They seemed to enjoy their new knowledge about the way the human body functions. Many aides in the group interviews referred to this course as particularly interesting.

Core Group Experiences (Counseling). The core group experience appeared to have many facets. One objective was to involve students in curriculum planning. The student would be expected, according to the Plan of Operation, "to comment on all phases of the program: on-the-job training, job supervision and the supervisor, specialty classes (skill training), academic work, core group, and staff. The students' opinions will be elicited in order to make ongoing program adjustments and to give the students an opportunity to take responsibility for their own progress in the program."

An objective such as this, though well conceptualized, is difficult to achieve. The reality at Howard was, to the Visitation Team, exciting in its possibilities and naturally inconclusive in its outcome, particularly at the opening of a year-long effort to elicit frank and constructive reactions. One drawback was apparent. Since there were no teacher-trainees in the core group experience or in the project as a whole, the aides' complaints about their assignments in the classroom did not come directly to those who made the decisions–the teachers in the school. (The term "teacher-trainees" refers to teachers enrolled as participants in the project, as opposed to the project's instructional staff. These are the teachers to whom aides are assigned in the practicum or on the job. In 10 of the 15 demonstration programs, the classroom teachers explored their new roles and relations as co-participants with aides.) The teachers' general point of view was represented by the staff members who led the core sessions, one of whom was a master teacher. However, the teachers who were actually using aides in the elementary schools did not participate in the core group experience.

In one instance, a boy objected to the core sessions about having to do work which should be done by the janitors or the pupils, such as cleaning fish bowls or lining the blackboards. The teacher to whom that boy had been assigned seemed to the Visitation Team the kind of person who would have listened to such a complaint and talked it out with understanding and sensitivity. However, the boy could not bring himself to mention this problem to the teacher at school. He might have been able to express himself on the subject to the teacher in an accepting group situation if she were one of the participants. This is, of course, merely a supposition, but the lack of teacher-participants precluded the possibility of this kind of interaction.

An aim of the core sessions was to develop inner strength and emotional stability as well as to involve the students in the program planning. It was hoped that concern about their reactions to the job and to their academic work would spur the trainees to more effort on both fronts. Freedom of expression was surely evident. It was too soon at the time of the visitation to judge the ultimate value of the experience.

ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS PERCEPTIONS OF AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS

As in all projects, the questionnaire, prepared at a Work Conference of Project Directors and distributed to Advisory Commission for comments and suggestions, listed possible functions. This was distributed at Howard before and after training to both staff and participants, who were asked to react to the helpfulness of such functions when performed by auxiliaries. The suggested functions were later grouped into three clusters for purposes of analysis: those which seemed pupil-oriented (Cluster I); those which seemed task-oriented (Cluster II); and those which appeared harmful or at least of doubtful value when performed by an auxiliary (Cluster III). These "negative" items were included to require some judgment by the respondents, as they reacted to the check list. The clustering was essentially tentative and exploratory. (See Appendix VII for composite scores, indicating the cluster and subcluster for each item.)

Listed in Table V are the ten items most favored by auxiliaries in the Howard Project *after* training (i.e., the ten highest ranked items in the post-test regarding helpfulness). The table indicated how the staff reacted to the helpfulness of these particular items.

One of the principal values perceived by the Study Team at Howard was the motivational impact of the auxiliaries on pupils of their own background. Apparently the auxiliaries sensed this plus factor since the item "encourage pupils to make the most of themselves" was perceived as helpful by a large proportion of the auxiliaries, but these particular items did not receive high ratings from staff. Only with respect to "preparing bulletin board displays" and "stopping pupils from fighting" did the items fall into the top ten for both auxiliaries and staff.

Analysis of items which appeared in the top ten ranking items after training, but not before training reveals that the item referred to above, i.e., "encourage pupils to make the most of themselves," is included. This outcome of the training confirms the significance of motivational factors in the Howard Program.

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF PERCEPTIONS OF THE HELPFULNESS OF AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS AFTER TRAINING IN HOWARD PROJECT

		Rank-Order in Post-test (No teacher-trainees in program.)		
Cluster	Description of Ten Items Ranked Highest by Aides	Aides	Teachers	Staff
III	Taking responsibility for the class for a few minutes when teacher is called away	1		64
I	Helping pupils learn how to settle arguments without fighting	2		20
II	Keeping records, such as attendance and health records	3		29
I	Helping young children learn how to use crayons, scissors, paste, and paint	4		66
I	Showing pupils how to clean up and put away materials	5		24
I	Helping pupils improve their manners	6		52
I	Encourage pupils to make the most of themselves	7		55
II	Preparing bulletin board displays	8		5
I	Playing games with pupils (rhyming, guessing, finger games)	9		73
III	Stopping pupils from fighting	10.		7

IMPRESSIONS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Reactions of the Aide-Participants. Unanimously and with enthusiasm, the aide-trainees in their group interview with the Visitation Team declared their intention to continue their studies even beyond their high school diploma. These were the young people who had been judged as "going nowhere"–"just getting by." Even taking into consideration the "Hawthorne effect" of this pilot program and the very natural tendency to give the "right" reply, these same young people were quick to be negative, even condemning, on other points–and only about two-thirds of them declared they wanted to become teacher-aides or health-aides. They had apparently agreed, however, that there was real merit in further study, and they were on their way. This result alone attested to the value of the project.

On other counts the results were less clear. The fact that two-thirds of the trainees expressed a desire to become aides in classroom or health centers could be viewed two ways: either as an index of success or failure depending upon the hopes and expectations of the perceiver. In view of the previous achievement record of the trainees and the relatively brief time in which the program had been operating at the time of the visit, the positive response of as many as two-thirds seemed to the Study Team to be heartening. The fact that these young people had been motivated to improve themselves seemed more important than whether they had responded to the particular occupational opportunity offered by this program.

Some positive results in terms of a more healthy self-image were discernible from comments:

"They call me 'Mister' on the job. It sounds good."

"I offered to act as junior truant officer because I know I'll be accepted in the homes. They listen to me and I really help the kids who don't want to come to school. I say to them: 'You just better study. Believe me!' and they know I know what I'm talking about, and they know I'm doing something about it."

"Before I came to this program, I was not interested in health or people. I dropped out. This program makes me want to go on."

Some negative reactions were also expressed:

"We should have the same books that the rest of the seniors have during the school year so as to be sure to keep up with them. Most of our readings are about poor, black people."

"The academic part of the program should not all be about child development."

"When I have a problem, I go to one of the staff members; I don't talk about it in a group." (This reaction indicates how foreign the core experience was to the previous mode of interaction of these trainees in a school setting which required a slow and difficult adjustment period.)

One interesting aspect of the group interview with the aides was the apparent frankness about some of their own deficiencies, such as:

"We need more English. We need to learn to say things right if we're going to work in the classroom."

"We have trouble controlling the class. We're not supposed to hit the children, but sometimes nothing else will make them stop their nonsense."

Reactions of Staff. Because of a severe snowstorm, the monthly staff meeting of the Cardozo Project in Urban Teaching was cancelled, so the Visitation Team was deprived of the opportunity to talk with all those involved in the planning and operation of the project. Reactions of staff were gleaned from talks with individual instructors on the way to and from observations.

A spirit of excitement and fervor seemed to prevail among the staff members, despite some frustration over the need for more full-time members of the instructional staff.

A deep insight which came through in these informal discussions was that it is the brighter youth who are hard to reach. They are inclined to be antisocial. The slow ones work hard at remediation. They recognize the need for remedial work, but they also have a strong sense of status about instructional content. They don't want to be taught anything too simple, to be talked down to, just because they are in the lowest academic tracks.

The staff, sensitive to those needs, were also quick to perceive subtle changes in attitude. A sense of accomplishment was conveyed in the comments of one staff member who seemed to be speaking for the others when she said: "They stand taller after this program."

At midpoint in the program, the staff evaluated progress and made recommendations. The following excerpts from their midterm report reveal sensitive response to feedback from trainees:

"As the year progressed several students expressed the desire for more education; some have expressed the desire for jobs which are related but for which we didn't plan curricula. An example is the desire of two of the health-aides who have typing skills to become medical secretaries.

"These newly emerging goals have caused us to review and rethink the various components to see if they meet the needs that have surfaced.

"Perhaps the 'demonstration' phase (related to diploma and job) is over. Now the program's goals must converge with goals as expressed by the students. Perhaps this doesn't involve a change in method so much as adjustment in content and emphases.

"Among the suggestions were that 'remediation' dominate training and that the specialty teachers focus on remediation using such means as log keeping and reporting to remediate in writing and other communications skills.

"A bigger question emerges: Is there a conflict between the method or style of this kind of curriculum development and the needs of the students for variety and some separation between the content of specialty and academic?

"One remedy would be to start the academic year with some packaged units and slowly bring in the student's experience which might result in units prepared to meet needs as perceived by students rather than our doing their perceiving for them. In fact, so much innovation at the beginning of the program is hardly well advised, since the aim is to respond to students' needs. It is only through constant contact with students rather than preconceived assumptions that these needs can be recognized.

"Perhaps, in the future, it would be wiser to start by recognizing that the academic needs are preeminent, since the trainees are students. It would then be the job of the academic coordinator to parcel out responsibility to specialty teachers who would function as part of the academic staff.

Reactions of Visitation Team. One member of the team summarized his impressions in a vivid analogy: "The Howard Project is bidding a grand slam with a good many weak cards in the hand." As a high risk project, it should be viewed in the light of the difficulties and peculiarities of the task undertaken and the setting.

The team was also keenly aware that unless some project sponsors have the courage to take calculated risks, the potential of the low achievers and chronic absentees, when motivated, will never be demonstrated.

The Howard Project provides a provocative context within which to examine the three major concerns of this Study: role development, training, and institutionalization.

ROLE DEVELOPMENT

As in most of the demonstration projects in this exploratory study, there was more opportunity to experiment with a variety of functions than to reexamine and redefine the roles of the school, the teacher, and the auxiliaries in relation to the needs of pupils and to the educational enterprise in the community.

Howard, aware of the limitations of a project in which teachers and principals were involved only peripherally, has instituted a follow-up study of its school-aide training program which was conducted in the spring term of 1966. This study includes indepth interviews with principals, teachers, and aides. This approach may help in answering some of the basic questions educators are asking as they view the burgeoning of the auxiliary school personnel movement throughout the country, such as: What are the tasks of the educational enterprise, and how can auxiliary personnel contribute most effectively to the accomplishment of these tasks? What changes are needed in the way teachers see themselves? What new and expanded roles for teachers are made possible by the utilization of auxiliary personnel? How can the role of the auxiliary be most meaningful to himself and most helpful to the teachers? What does all this mean for the pupils?

Lacking joint counseling sessions for teachers and auxiliaries, as well as scheduled time for review of their common experiences by each teacher-auxiliary team, there was little opportunity to glean new knowledge in these areas of concern. Auxiliaries were added to certain classrooms; they performed a variety of tasks for the teacher; and they were given training for a variety of activities. Some teachers met with the auxiliaries assigned to them in the half hour of the school day before the children arrived. Some also gave the children seatwork from time to time in order to plan with the auxiliary. It remains for future research to delve into the dynamics of these relationships and to assess the pupil outcome.

Meantime, it is necessary to clarify some of the ground rules. For example, different teachers interpreted the rule very differently about whether an auxiliary should be left in charge of a class–from "never" to "for extended periods." This was, in part, dependent upon the ability of the auxiliary, but some uncertainty about the position of the D.C. School System on this matter was perceived by team members.

Also manifest was the need for developing realistic expectations by the auxiliaries as to the variety and nature of the tasks they are to perform. It appeared to the team that the question of who does the dirty work (such as cleaning fish bowls and lining the blackboards) should be dealt with squarely in training both auxiliaries and teachers for their joint enterprise.

TRAINING

The training goals of this project differed sharply from those of the other 14 demonstration programs, since it was not designed solely to prepare the participants to function in a teacher-auxiliary partnership but rather pursued two parallel goals: to train the enrollees as aides, and to provide a high school experience leading to a diploma.

The staff desired to relate the content of the academic courses to the daily lives and interests of the students, as well as their indirect approach to teaching basic language skills, the latter to avoid seeming to "attack" the trainees in a vulnerable area. However, the use of some programmed materials such as teaching machines and other electronic aids, might be a valuable resource in the basic skill training, particularly when supplemented by sensitivity training to integrate the cognitive with affective learnings. Also, auxiliaries might be encouraged to test out simulation, microteaching, and other approaches to studying classroom behavior. In two of the demonstration programs, auxiliaries in training together with teachers in training, received a quick feedback on themselves in action through video tapes. Such a program involves expensive equipment.

Funds and the cooperation of school administrators would also be needed to include teacher-trainees in the program. The experience in the demonstration programs seems to indicate that a one or two-day orientation is not adequate. Neither is lecturing to teachers about how to work with auxiliaries.

Supervision and training are often thought of as discrete, but in developing teacher-auxiliary teams, supervision is actually a component of training. Both the teacher and the auxiliary need a skillful and sympathetic third party to go to with problems. At Howard, the auxiliaries reported that there were people on the staff to whom they could go with their problems. However, when teachers were not part of this discussion, its productivity was limited.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION

The Model School Division of the Washington, D.C. School System is well suited to the kind of demonstration program which Howard is developing, since it should be possible to ask some fundamental questions about the community, the children, the out-of-school agencies, the current roles of the school, the teacher and the auxiliary, and then to utilize the answers to these questions in developing a program of stable, open-ended employment with training opportunities correlated with each step on the career ladder, on a work-study basis. A beginning has been made.

Entry jobs at the G.S.-2 Level ($75 a week) have been promised to graduates of this program. The idea of having an auxiliary training program as part of a high school curriculum is receiving a preliminary try-out. Imaginative new ideas about the utilization of auxiliaries may emerge.

The realities of the situation may reduce the final outcome. For example, new budgetary and legislative developments have rendered the employment of graduates of this program less assured. Still lacking is the essential element recommended by this Study, that "time be scheduled during the school day or after school hours with extra compensation for teacher-auxiliary teams to review their experiences and plan together for the next day."

The Visitation Team also noted a lack of continuing and effective communicaition between the Institute Staff and the teachers to whom auxiliaries were assigned. Such communication was seen as an important component of the team concept in its totality, which is fostered by the inclusion of teacher-trainees in a given program.

However, a sense of fulfillment and hope seems to permeate this program. There is obvious pride in being part of a brave, new effort. It is as if the "Hawthorne effect" had been institutionalized.

VI. AUXILIARY UTILIZATION IN BERKELEY— A CASE STUDY

Karl Openshaw, Consultant-Observer
Jerome Gilbert, Director
Adena Joy, Process-Observer

REPORT OF CONSULTANT-OBSERVER

Report by
Karl Openshaw
Adena Joy

OVERVIEW

The Community—The Need. Black families, which make up approximately one-third of the population of Berkeley, live in the flat land section of the city where the housing pattern and the elementary schools are of ghetto type. Enrollment at Columbus University Laboratory School, located in this area, is seventy-five per cent black at the present time, a situation achieved by voluntary bussing of white children into a school serving a predominantly black area (the lowest-income area in the Berkeley school system). In this low-income, minority group community, teachers are culturally different and frequently are the ones who need guidance in acculturation. It was felt that they might learn more rapidly through working daily in the classroom with parents who were typical of this ghetto culture.

In recent years, despite some of the past problems and limitations, the Columbus School, under the leadership of Jerome Gilbert, the principal, has inaugurated many compensatory and innovative programs. The school serves as a laboratory school for the University of California and the curriculum reflects many experimental programs such as non-grading, team teaching, programmed instruction. The utilization of parents as auxiliaries was one of the innovations developed under Dr. Gilbert's direction.

Pilot Program 1966-67. A demonstration program was instituted during the school year 1966-67 in two schools of the Berkeley Unified School District in the area of lowest income. This pilot program was designed to bring parents and teachers together at the common task of enhancing the learning of children in elementary school classrooms. The early program was designed on the premises that:

1. The school is not the sole educative agency. Parents are children's first teachers.
2. Employment of parents as auxiliary personnel can substantially reduce alienation between parents, teachers, and school.
3. Employment of parents as aides can serve as a bridge between the low-income culture and the middle-class school environment.
4. Teachers and parents of different cultures must develop greater awareness of each other's views, values, expectations, and ways of achieving their purposes.
5. Aides should be employed, in part, to provide for a greater personalization of instruction and, in part, to involve alienated parents of the community in the school program.
6. An auxiliary personnel program which employs local parents from low-income communities may raise the educational aspirations of parents and pupils in a given community.
7. Working in the classroom can help parents become capable of assisting their children with school work at home.
8. The school can assume a partial responsibility for helping aides to improve their occupational skills and aspirations. Parents can be made more aware of the range of occupations available and the training necessary to get these jobs.
9. If parents have higher aspirations for themselves, their children may begin to see education as having more meaning.

This pilot program was carried out during the school year 1966-67. Auxiliary personnel were employed to serve various functions within the school as well as in the community. Both preservice and inservice training for teachers, guidance consultants, and aides were conducted. The effectiveness of this first year of experience led into a continuation, elaboration, and refinement of the project.

AUXILIARY PROGRAM 1967-68

Objectives. (Only the program in the Columbus School was analyzed by the consultant-observer, in relation to these objectives.) The specific objectives to be addressed in this project were:

1. To enhance the possibility that low-income family children would succeed in school by bringing parents and teachers into a working relationship within the school that might modify, positively, the behavior or all three—pupils, parents, and teachers.

2. To promote recognition and understanding by parents and teachers of each other's reward and punishment systems and ways of meeting children's development.
3. To establish lines of communication among the school staff, the children, and the parents not otherwise involved in the program.
4. To increase the sensitivity of the school faculty toward the life style, concerns, child rearing patterns, and the language of the community by means of summer preservice and a continuing inservice education program for teachers and aides.

Roles and Functions. Auxiliary personnel were valued primarily for the contribution they could make to increased understanding and communication among pupils, parents and teachers. For this reason, the emphasis on the use of teacher-aides was less on routine work and more on support of teaching on the assumption that only through personal interaction could genuine communication be fostered.

The role of the teacher-aide was outlined as follows: 1) to relieve the teacher of nonteaching tasks; 2) to work with children; 3) to improve communications with parents; 4) to help develop plans for parent and community involvement in the school.

Fourteen teacher-aides were assigned to all primary grade classes from kindergarten through second grade for 60 per cent of the school day and to classes of grades three through six for the remaining 40 per cent of the time. Schedules were arranged so that aides were available to all reading classes that had groups of children underachieving in reading in all four elementary schools in the target area of West Berkeley, which is predominantly black, as well as in the Columbus School.

One aide was also assigned to work with the librarian. This aide did much of the clerical work in the Instructional Materials Center and also read stories to small groups of children, helped children select books, and operated audiovisual equipment in the library.

Two aides were employed to work in the Guidance Learning Center under the direction of the guidance consultant. They were used primarily to help upper-grade children who had difficulty meeting the demands of their teachers, classmates, and their school environment.

Criteria for Selection of Aides. Since this project had some unique purposes, criteria for selection were established in order to achieve these purposes. The criteria were:

1. The applicant must be literate but need not meet any particular standards of educational achievement or level of education.
2. The applicant must have a child in the school and must live in the attendance area of that school.
3. The applicant must have a low level of income.
4. The applicant must be emotionally stable and have fairly wholesome attitudes toward other people.
5. The applicant must be willing to abide by the rules of the school.

6. The applicant must be able to meet the health requirements of the state and of the district related to working with children.

Demographic Data–Aides. Demographic information was obtained on aides at the beginning of the pilot program in the fall of 1966. Since the 17 aides in the 1967-68 program were all part of the original pilot program, information about them was taken from the original questionnaires.

In age, the aides ranged from 25 to 60. The second oldest woman was 47; the modal point was about 32. Nine were married, six separated, one widowed, and one listed herself as single. All had children in the school; the average number of children was four. Five of the aides had children two years old or younger. All were women.

The schooling of the aides ranged from two who had completed the tenth grade to two with two-and-a-half years of college. Five aides had some college education; six had graduated from high school. All said they would like to become teachers, except four who were undecided, and the one person who was sixty years of age.

Their average income for 1965-66 had been $3,214. Eight had received unemployment or welfare assistance. All the aides were black except one Mexican-American married to a black man.

Demographic Data–Teachers. Teachers in the project included one teaching for the first time; one with 20 years at Columbus School; one with 17 years in the Berkeley schools; several with at least 10 years of experience. In addition to the new teacher, five others were in their first or second year at Columbus School.

Two teachers had been part of the aide project the previous year. None of the others had had a full-time aide although some had worked with students or volunteers.

All were credentialed teachers; three had Master's degrees; eight were graduates of either the University of California or San Francisco State College; four had attended other California schools. Two were from Brooklyn College. Other out-of-state schools represented were Hunter, Wayne, Western Reserve, Hampton, Indiana State College and Howard University. Two teachers were Japanese, one black, the rest Caucasian. All were women.

Teacher Preservice Program. Although many of the teachers were new to the program, training was limited to a six-hour period on one Saturday. During the morning the project director explained the purposes of the program, described program design and outlined the roles and functions of the teachers and the aides. A panel of teachers who had been in the pilot program the preceding year talked about their experiences and observations. The teachers asked questions and discussion ensued. The morning session ended with a talk by the superintendent of schools.

In the afternoon, teachers went to their schools. The aides met with the teachers to whom they were assigned in order to get acquainted and to plan how they might work together initially.

Teacher-Aide Preservice Program. Since the aides had been employed in the program the previous year, their preservice training was limited to fifteen hours. The aides met for two days at the Columbus School. Program purposes were reviewed, the new program design described, and the role and functions of teachers and aides explained. A panel of aides and a panel of teachers reviewed their perceptions of the previous year's pilot program and discussion from the floor followed the presentations. The aides met for about an hour with the principal who talked about the philosophy of the school, the programs in operation, and school procedures which applied to the aides. Staff members, who directed or worked in some of the special service programs for children, met with small groups of aides to inform them of the kinds and purposes of the services the school system provided.

Aides met with teachers on Saturday afternoon to plan how they might work together. This limited preservice seemed to be sufficient since their year-long inservice training had been a part of the pilot program.

Inservice Program for Teachers and Aides. The inservice program consisted of three parts: career development for aides, group meetings for teachers and aides, and team leader training. The meetings were held for two hours each Tuesday after school with stipends for both teachers and aides.

Career Development for Aides. The aides met the first Tuesday of each month with the principal and the guidance consultant to discuss their interests in and concerns about new careers within and outside of the field of education. Since aide positions were taken as entry into the world of work, the aides were provided with information about occupational opportunities in Berkeley and surrounding communities and the type of training needed to get these jobs. They were encouraged to discover occupational interests, to develop their abilities, and were helped in getting the training necessary to assume such positions.

The Merritt Junior College in Alameda County conducted development courses for the aides in the project schools. Aides received one hour's pay for attending each two-hour session at high school, college, or occupational training courses.

Group Meetings of Teachers and Aides. The other Tuesday sessions were usually joint meetings of teams of teachers and aides. Participants were divided into four subgroups of four teams each. Each team had a teacher-leader and the team largely determined its own agenda.

The process-observer, in the beginning months of the project, collected substantive and interaction data about teachers and aides in the classrooms and in the inservice meetings. In January, she was assigned a new function—that of leader of the group meetings of teachers and of aides. She also acted as a resource person to the teams.

The format of the inservice meetings was altered as experience and data indicated. The nature of these changes will be discussed in the section on program design.

Team Leader Training. Since the success of the team operation in inservice training was dependent upon the ability of groups to make use of certain techniques, the team leaders (teachers), met every other Thursday for two hours after school to receive leadership training under the direction of an instructor experienced in such preparation at San Francisco State College.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Although the 1967-68 program was conducted in all four elementary schools, only one, Columbus School, was selected for intensive study because of time and staff limitation.

The aides' and teachers' behavior in the classroom was recorded through classroom observations. Communicating with parents and involvement of both parents and community were assessed through observation of weekly inservice meetings and other out-of-classroom activities.

Data Collection Instruments. The consultant-observer and the process-observer developed instruments and collected data on each of the above facets of the program. The classroom observation form and value questionnaire are in Appendix IX.

Classroom Observation Data. Classroom observations dealt with two general areas of aide and teacher activity: interaction with children and manipulation of materials. Categories under **personal interaction** included:

> Working with Content: instructing (with formal subject matter orientation); monitoring (overseeing the learning process); activity (informal teaching behavior).
>
> Relating to Pupils: supervising (regulating pupils' behavior); reprimanding (intervening to change behavior); doing for (providing individual care).

The **handling of materials** was classified as:

> Performing Routine Tasks: clerical tasks (producing materials); managerial tasks (manipulating materials).

There was an additional category of "inactivity" when teacher or aide would appear to be engaged in no task. Apparent inactivity, when aides were observing a teaching method prior to participating, was differentiated from actual inactivity. Record was also kept of the number of times there was verbal interchange between teacher and aide.

The activity of both teacher and aide was recorded each minute for a thirty-minute period. Symbols were used to indicate if the activity was with the entire class, a small group, or an individual. Superimposing the category format on graph paper produced a simple but effective means of recording classroom behavior (see Appendix IX).

For each classroom, successive observations were made at a different period of the day. An attempt was made to observe typical situations and a variety of activities.

First and second grades had a divided reading schedule which made for relatively small groups the first hour and the last hour of the day. When the teacher worked with the entire group, even though there were only six or eight pupils, it was recorded as total class rather than small group instruction.

Six thirty-minute observations were made in each of the 14 classrooms. Observations were also completed on the library aide and each of the two guidance aides.

Program Analysis of Inservice Meetings. Although the Tuesday meetings from 3:30 to 5:30 were called inservice training meetings, they appeared to have a variity of functions. Topics discussed during the first weeks of the project were not related to classroom activities as often as they were to other project goals, such as career development and community action. The partial racial integration in 1967-68 which was to lead to full integration in 1968-69, was the subject of lively and prolonged debate.

Observation of all three types of meetings focused on content, member participation, leadership distribution, and decision making. (See section on **Inservice Program.**)

Other Data Gathering Approaches. Group interviews of not more than four individuals were conducted, utilizing an interview schedule. Separate schedules were developed for teachers and aides.

In addition, a formal questionnaire concerning training was given to all participants during the final week of evaluation. A forced-choice questionnaire on the value of aides in a school setting, limited to four positive and four negative selections, provided additional data.

DATA ANALYSIS
CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

Teachers' Utilization of Aides. Aides were used for routine managerial tasks more often than for any other purpose, accounting for 37% of their time (Figure I). This, combined with inactive periods, took up nearly 50% of the aides' time.

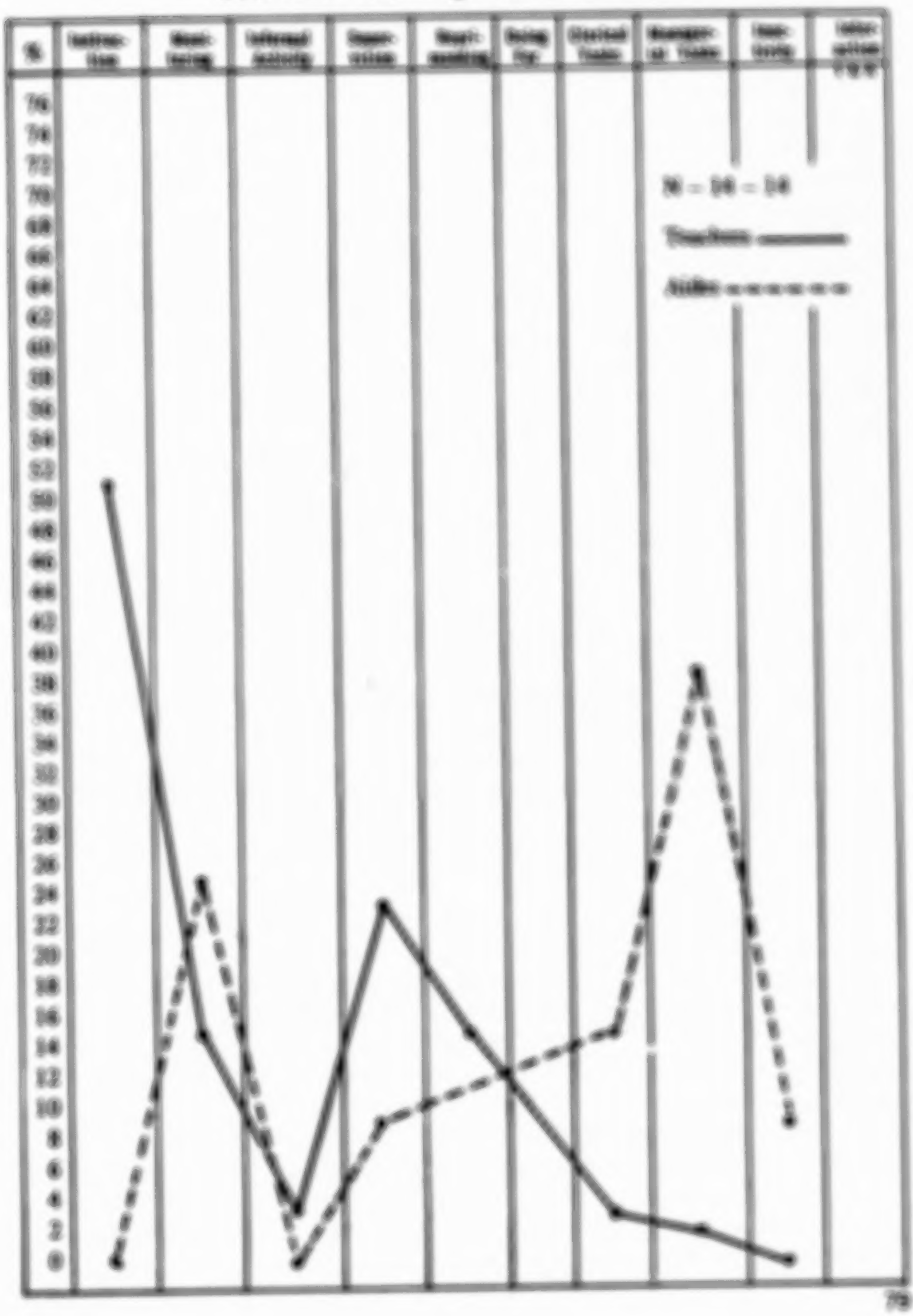
The principal change over time was a reduction in inactivity, which was as high as 28% on the first observation. By the final observation this had been reduced to 9% and the average for the entire period was 10.9%.

Clerical use of aides was less than half as frequent as managerial, the average being 15.5%. Neither clerical nor managerial usage changed greatly

FIGURE I

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SUMMARIES

Observation Percentages for all Classrooms



over time, although clerical use went up slightly as managerial use began to decrease after reaching a high point of 60% on the third observation.

Aides' interaction with pupils gradually increased. At midpoint, on the basis of three observations, they spent 20% of their time monitoring, 6% supervising and 1% in activities with the children, for a total of 27% in pupil interaction. By the end of the project, this total was 36%, similarly distributed among the three activities.

Monitoring was done much more frequently than supervising, the final totals being respectively 25.35% and 10%. Only one teacher was observed, on a single occasion, to use an aide to conduct the class in instruction. Likewise, only one teacher was seen to have the aide participate in noninstructional pupil activity.

The three personal interacting categories of teacher and aide speaking together, doing something for a child, or reprimanding, all remained constant (Table VI). During a thirty-minute period, the average number of teacher-aide interactions was 1.6; teacher reprimands, 4.6; aide reprimands, .22. Aides did something for a child twice as often as did teachers, but this was infrequent for both during the six observations (1.35 episodes for aides, and .78 for teachers).

The picture presented by the averages, of aides working with things or inactive 63% of the time and interacting with pupils 36%, suggests that aides were not generally involved in the teaching process. However, there are great differences between individual scores, and some of the teachers present a very different picture of utilization (Table VII). Some teachers had their aides interacting with pupils more than 50% of the time; one was nearly 70%. One teacher has no recording of inactive time for her aide, and several have 5% or less.

At the other extreme, several aides were routinely or inactively used more than 75% of the time, and some interacted with students less than 15% of the time. With four aides, monitoring was rarely observed.

Such wide differences in utilization raise a question of causation. What factors contribute to different types of utilization? The data from classroom observation were analyzed to answer this question.

Teachers' Classroom Style. The recording of classroom behavior immediately disclosed differences in the teachers' styles. In the extreme cases, such as teachers A and N (Table VII), the style differential was obvious and did not change during the observation period. In other cases, such as teachers F, G, H, and I, it was difficult to determine their style, but after two observers had made six thirty-minute recordings of teacher and aide behavior, the distinctions had become clear (Table VIII).

Teachers were easily divided into two groups according to the amount of time they spent in instruction. For the most part, such activity was spent with the entire class; occasionally instruction was with small groups, but as classes were small (20 or less) there was little grouping, except by a few teachers. An instruction coding indicates that the teacher

TABLE VI

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SUMMARIES

Percentage Totals on Observations

	Instruction	Monitoring	Informal Activity	Supervision	Reprimanding	Doing For	Clerical Tasks	Managerial Tasks	Inactivity	Interaction T & A
					All Groups (N.14)					
T	51.43	15.8	3.57	21.35	16.1	.78	4	2.77	1.14	10
A	.64	25.35	.5	10	1.35	1.43	15.5	37	10.9	
					Instruction-focus Teachers (N.7)					
T	62.84	9.84	4.28	17.42	14.7	.70	4	1.84		5.42
A		26.56		4.4	.42	.1	19	35	15.14	
					Group-focus Teachers (N.7)					
T	40	21.6	2.84	25.28	17.56	.84	4	2.86	2.28	14.42
A	1.28	24	1	15.6	2.28	1.84	12	39.28	6.64	
					High Reprimand Teachers (N.6)					
T	49.82	15.5		27	29.33	1.16	6.5	.66		7.8
A		18.33		13	1	2.8	14.16	45.16	7.8	

TABLE VII

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SUMMARIES

Final Percentages on Observations

	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T&A
	Instruction		Monitoring		Informal Activity		Supervision		Reprimanding		Doing For		Clerical Tasks		Managerial Tasks		Inactivity		Interaction
I	44		4	14			20	17	13	4	1		3	23	17	36	13	10	22
J	43		13	34	6		30	5	8	2			1	15	6	37		10	8
B	65		7	8			20	12	26		3	1	8	11		62		7	3
E	61		6	4	11		18	4	10			1		17	4	51		24	8
F	56		20	36			24	3	34		1	5		23		32		4	12
D	62		10	44	12		10	3	5	3			1	27	6	5		22	5
K	40		27	24			30	14	35	4				9	2	49		5	16
G	52		11	20			23	2	19		1		13	30		38		10	2
M	36	9	33	29	7		16	15	2		1		5	20		27	3		10
N	31		47	45	6	7	16	6	3	4	2	2	1	5		36		1	31
H	48		20	20			26	33	42	2		11	3	2	2	30		14	8
A	81		3	68	1		11	1	4				3	6	1	10		16	5
L	38		8	3	1		39	20	20		2		15	10		60		7	6
C	63		12	6	6		16	6	5				3	19	2	47		23	4

TABLE VIII

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SUMMARIES

Teacher-Style Rankings

INSTRUCTION-FOCUS TEACHERS (Over 50% of time devoted to Instruction)

	Working with Content			Relating to Pupils			Routine Tasks		Inac-tivity	Inter-action T & A
	nstruction	Monitoring	Informal Activity	Supervision	Reprimanding	Doing For	Clerical Tasks	Managerial Tasks		
A	81	68	53	1	4	26	6	10	16	5
B	65	8	13	12	26	69	11	62	7	3
C	63	6	-11	6	5	70	19	47	23	4
D	62	44	25	3	5	27	27	5	22	5
E	61	4	-16	4	10	75	17	51	24	8
F	56	36	35	3	34	36	23	32	4	12
G	52	20	12	2	19	48	30	38	10	2
Av. %	63	26.6	16	4.4	14.7	50	19	35	15	5.5
	GROUP-FOCUS TEACHERS (Less than 50% of time devoted to Instruction)									
H	48	20	39	33	42	44	2	30	14	8
I	44	14	21	17	13	46	23	36	10	22
J	43	34	29	5	8	47	15	37	10	8
K	40	24	33	14	35	54	9	49	5	16
L	38	3	16	20	20	67	10	60	7	6
M	36	38	53	15	2	27	20	27	—	10
N	31	45	57	13	3	37	5	36	1	31
Av. %	40	25.4	35.4	16.7	17.5	46	12	39	6.7	14.4

is in the center of, and communicating verbally with, a group of children concerning subject matter. Half of the teachers spent over 50% of their time in instruction. The range is from 81% to 31% (Table VIII).

Correlation of Teaching and Utilization of Aides. Predicting that this difference in instructional style would prove crucial in understanding aide utilization, the researchers divided the teachers according to their instructional scoring for purposes of analysis. Those high in instructional time, characterized as the instruction-focused group, averaged 63% of their time devoted to instruction. The others, who spent more time in monitoring and supervising, were called group-focused. They spent 40% of their time in instruction.

There appears to be significant differences between the two groups where correlations between teacher style and aide utilization were made (Figure II). The group-focused teachers used their aides for supervising much more often than did the instruction-oriented teachers–15.6% compared to 4.4% of the time. The group-focused teachers had less than half as much inactive time recorded for their aides–6.64% compared to 15.14% for the instruction-focused group.

Presumably a teacher who spends much time in active verbal instruction does not have many noninstructional situations where children need supervising; their own supervising score as well as that of the aides' was lower than the group-focused teacher. Perhaps such teachers' focus on class instruction precludes assigning parallel tasks to the aide.

On the other hand and somewhat surprisingly, the instruction-oriented teachers had the highest use of aides as monitors, even though the teachers themselves did relatively little monitoring. Although one teacher (A) was responsible for over 40% of the groups' monitoring time, she demonstrates the potential in the instruction-focused style for maximum use of aides for monitoring activities.

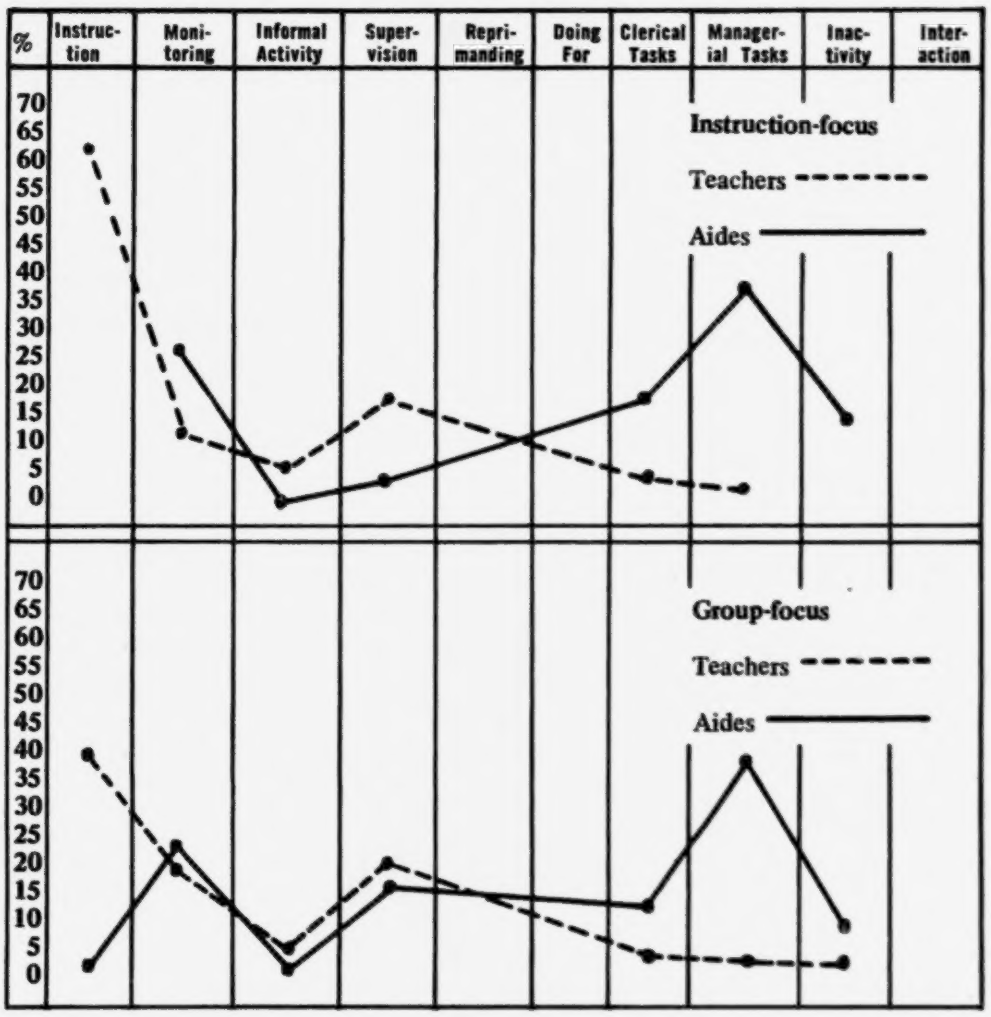
In general it appears that for group-focused teachers routine use and inactivity were lower and pupil interaction higher than for the other group. But these dissimilarities are not great, and some of the highest usage scores are in the instruction-focused group. Time devoted to instruction does not, in itself, afford adequate explanation for usage variables.

The incidence of reprimands varied widely, so this factor was explored as a possible index to utilization (Table VII). Six teachers were responsible for over 70% of all reprimands (F,K,H,L,G, and I)–four group-focused, two instruction-focused. These six were high on managerial use of aides (45%) and low on monitoring (18.3%). Apparently a teacher who has difficulty in controlling her class will also have trouble in making creative use of an aide. The assumption that an aide can help a teacher in class discipline may well be open to question. No data, either from observation or questionnaires, indicated that teachers perceived or utilized aides as assistant disciplinarians.

The managerial use of aides was examined further by looking at those teachers with the highest managerial percentages (B,K,E,C, and L),

FIGURE II

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SUMMARIES
Comparison of Teaching Style and Utilization



(Figure III). Although they represent both styles of teaching, their instruction time was high (64%) and their own monitoring time low (4%). This further supports the generalization that a teacher who spends much time in class instruction tends to use her time for routine functions.

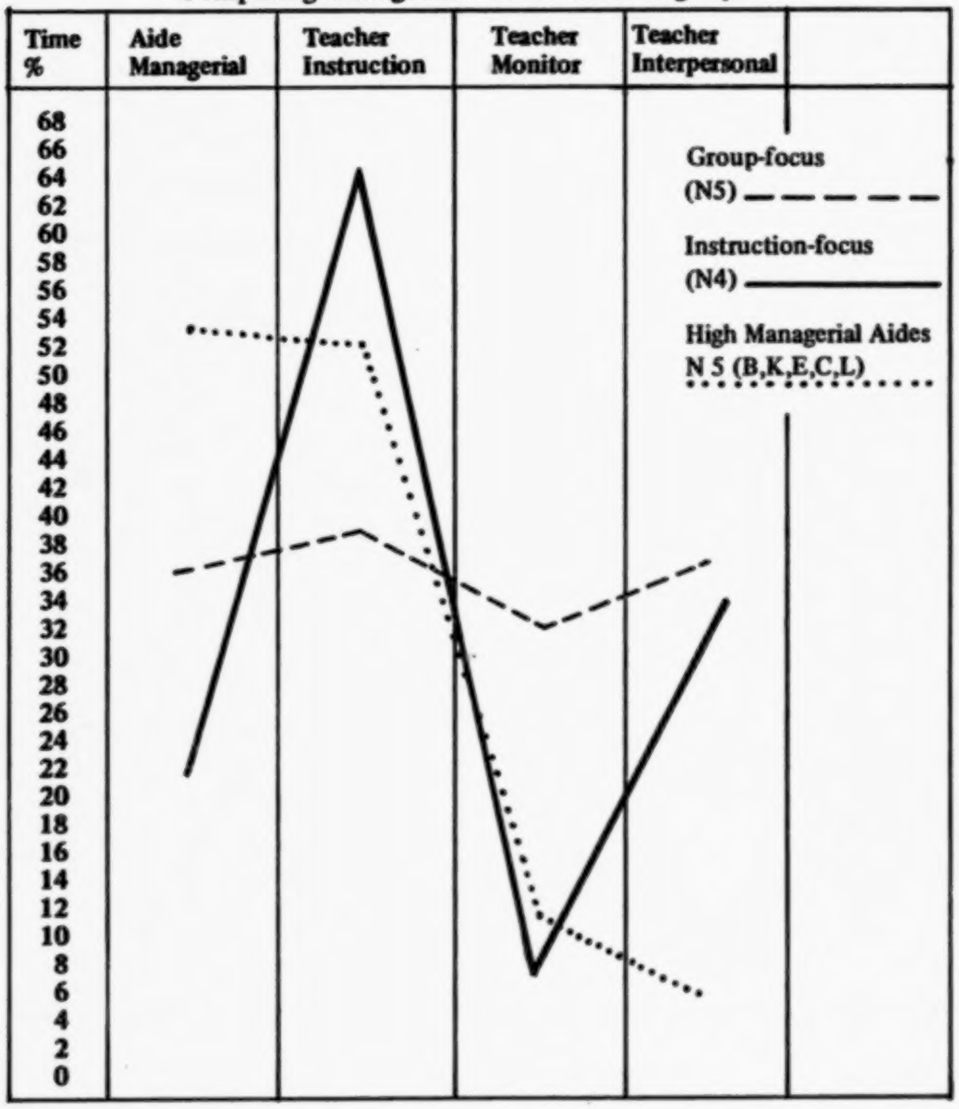
Pupil-adult interaction scores were obtained by combining percentages on monitoring, activity and supervising. Both teacher-pupil interaction and aide-pupil interaction scores were computed to determine the degree of correlation between them (Figure IV). For about half of the teachers there was some correlation, but for the others there was not.

An important, but difficult to measure, variable seems to be the

FIGURE III

TEACHER STYLE AND AIDE UTILIZATION

Comparing Managerial Use and Teaching Style



interpersonal relationships among all persons in the classroom. Much of this would imply that teacher and aide had communication at some time concerning jobs to be done; much inactivity suggests that the adults do not communicate often. Monitoring involves communication with students, and to be carried on continuously it must include understanding between teacher and aide. Thus these two behavioral scores, aides' time spent monitoring minus inactive time, provide an index to the interaction taking place in the classroom. The index can be further strengthened by adding the number of verbal interchanges between teacher and aide.

FIGURE IV
RELATIONSHIP OF TEACHERS' AND AIDES' PUPIL INTERACTION SCORES
Monitoring, Informal Activity, Supervision

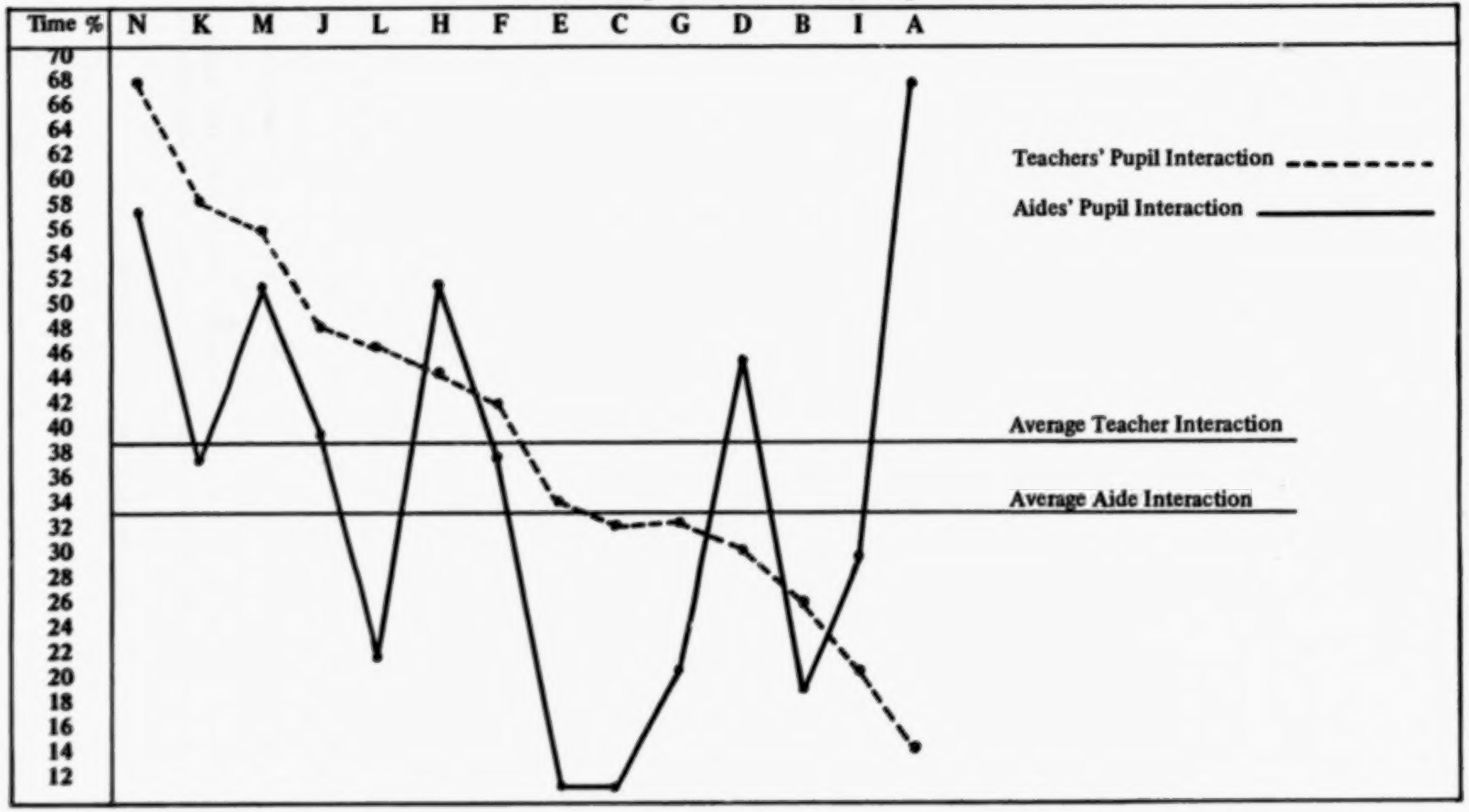


TABLE IX

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SUMMARIES

Derivation of the Interpersonal Index

Teacher	Aide Monitor	minus	Aide Inactive	plus	Number of Interactions	= Index
A	68		16		5	57
B	8		7		3	4
C	6		23		4	-13
D	44		22		5	27
E	4		24		8	-12
F	36		4		12	44
G	20		10		2	12
H	20		14		8	14
I	14		10		22	26
J	34		10		8	32
K	24		5		16	35
L	3		7		6	2
M	38		–		10	48
N	45		1		31	74

An Interpersonal Index was figured for each teacher, using scores on aide's monitoring and inactivity, and interaction in the classroom with the aide (Table IX). This ranked the teachers in order agreeing closely with the observers' impressions of effective utilization (Table IX). Two groups were clearly separated: high Interpersonal Index, 74 to 26; low, 14 to -13. Uniformity was greater within the group than in teaching-style groupings with the unusually high monitor score of A in the instruction-focus group, and the high managerial score of N in group-focus.

The Interpersonal Index correlates with managerial and reprimand rankings, a high Interpersonal Index being associated with low managerial and reprimand scores (Table X). The high managerial group described above had a very low Index average of 5 (Figure III).

The average instruction percentage for each group is similar, suggesting that teaching style in itself is not crucial. Both instruction and group-focused classrooms appear to make effective use of aides, and each

TABLE X CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS SUMMARIES Comparison of Interpersonal Index and Other Rankings

Rank	Teacher	Index	Manage	Rank	Reprimand	Rank	Instruct	Rank
1	N	74	36	7	1	2	31	1
2	A	57	10	2	1.7	3	81	14
3	M	48	27	3	.9	1	36	2
4	F	44	32	5	15	12	56	6
5	K	35	49	11	15	12	40	4
6	J	32	37	8	3.5	6	43	5
7	D	27	5	1	2.2	4	62	11
8	I	26	36	7	5.8	8	44	6
9	H	14	30	4	18.8	14	48	7
10	G	12	38	9	8.3	9	52	9
11	B	4	62	14	11	11	65	13
12	L	2	60	13	8.8	10	38	3
13	E	-12	51	12	4.4	7	61	10
14	C	-13	47	10	2.2	4	63	12

type also appears to show ineffective utilization. The degree of interpersonal interaction seems to give the most definite clues as to how and why aides are used adequately. However, the question remains as to why there is much interaction in some classrooms and little in others.

THE INSERVICE TRAINING PROGRAM

Objectives. Training meetings were described in the original project proposal as essentially task-oriented. Suggested agenda topics were: outside speakers on child rearing, motivation, curriculum, school policy, school plans, city programs and plans; involvement of parents in the education of their own children; planning school-community social activities; planning ways to support improvements of schools. The agendas were to be determined by the needs and desires of the aides and teachers, and aides were encouraged to take the initiative to make personal contacts and to organize the activities. The evolving nature of the program is illustrated by the fact that subsequent documents produced by the school district introduced an additional focus, i.e., to help aides become aware of the range of occupations available to them; get the training and professional education necessary to obtain positions for which they have aspired; raise the level of their aspirations both in terms of occupations and education.

The latter documents seemed to place more emphasis on the personal development of participants when describing purposes of inservice training as including reflection on the learning-teaching process as it is carried on in the school setting and learning more about each other's values, world views and modes of child rearing as they influence teaching and learning.

The inservice training program was finally characterized as having a threefold purpose: 1) to discuss curriculum and classroom expectations; 2) to promote and facilitate community action; 3) to further career development.

Focus of Observations. Time had been allotted for after school subgroup meetings for teachers and their aides. Observations of these meetings focused on content, member participation, leadership distribution and decision making. The meetings for leaders, held on another day each week, were subject to the same analysis as the subgroup meetings; the data proved to be similar for the two types of meetings.

Researchers' Analysis of Programs. Integration was the most discussed topic at the subgroup meetings for teachers and aides. This was due, no doubt, to the following facts: 1) All the aides had had a previous year of experience in community action relating to integration; 2) many disagreed with the school board's proposal for integration in September, 1968; 3) several aides were organizing block meetings; 4) one purpose of the aide project was to encourage and support community action.

Other topics discussed, in addition to career development on first

Tuesdays for aides only, were parent workshops, evaluation of aides by teachers, serving snacks, restructuring of training meetings, discipline, why children fail, and behavior of individual children.

Because teacher-aide classroom experiences were rarely discussed in the training meetings, the observers suggested the use of case studies. Three composite cases were composed, drawn from actual observation but representing only one classroom. The observers requested that use of the studies be considered by the Advisory Committee. The committee approved their use and they were introduced at the next small group meeting.

The case studies, with accompanying discussion questions, were duplicated and distributed at the meetings. Some of the leaders were unsure of how to handle the discussion; one of them had not noticed the questions at the bottom of the sheet. Nonetheless, discussion kept to the point and participation was good. In general, the aides tended to be more articulate; teachers appeared at times to be defensive. In one group, for instance, there was lively argument over the need for a teacher to instruct the entire group and therefore, at that time, to be unable to use the aide in teaching-type functions.

During the interviews, both teachers and aides said the case studies had helped to focus and deepen discussion. When the groups met again two weeks later, some of them returned to the cases. However, by this time, the last week before Christmas, there was considerable resistance to serious thinking and none of the meetings accomplished much.

By early November dissatisfaction with the training meetings was expressed through suggestions of restructuring. During the meetings on November 14, information was exchanged between groups, and agreement reached that one hour of the inservice training meeting time each week would be spent by teacher and aide together in the classroom. This recommendation was changed to one-half hour by the Advisory Committee. Many participants were upset by the change; some because they said a half-hour was too short to be of any value; others because they resented the discarding of their democratically devised decision.

Although participants generally agreed that the aide-teacher planning time was useful, there were signs of resistance. Because a similar classroom meeting had been both requested and resisted in the project the previous year, the process-observer made a check on activities in the classrooms. The first week all teacher-aide dyads (with the exception of one pair) had some type of conference. During the second week meeting period, the observer found four classrooms dark, and six aides unoccupied. When time was made available for planning some may have found nothing to be discussed. Or it may be that for some teachers the situation of spending a half-hour alone with the aide was so uncomfortable that they found ways to avoid it. On the other hand, some teacher-auxiliary dyads may have met in another location, not in their classrooms.

Analysis of the functioning of the groups revealed that most of the topics were introduced by the chairman; occasionally, however, these topics had grown out of group interest expressed at a previous meeting. On one occasion, the entire group was called together and the teacher, acting as chairman, explained that the purpose was to discuss community action on integration. She then called on several aides to explain their activities and plans for block meetings. Later the group divided into their regular subgroupings to discuss methods of implementing plans.

Participation in meetings was about average; some persons never spoke, others talked a great deal. If any group tended to be silent, it was the teachers; although there was no teacher who never spoke, while there were a few such aides. Whether this was because the teachers wanted to give the aides a chance to speak, or because they did not feel free to speak, is not readily apparent. A few teachers indicated they had been told not to speak too much in the meetings.

Participation was more equal at the Berkeley District leaders' meetings, attended by four Columbus School teachers and the project director. The guidance consultant who played an active leadership role in the Columbus School project, was also a leader of the leader's group.

As already noted, most of the topics discussed by this group were introduced by the chairman or the guidance consultant. The chairman kept detailed notes of subjects that the group mentioned and returned to them at subsequent meetings. At the last meeting in October, the group discussed an evaluation form for teachers to use with aides. Members kept getting off onto other issues, such as advisability of rotating aides, and poor communication between schools regarding the aide program. Repeatedly the chairman brought the group back to consideration of the evaluation form, which they finally tabled. At the end of the meeting one participant expressed a desire to spend more time in discussion of their individual experiences and problems in the use of aides. At the following leadership meeting this need for more personal interchange was discussed, and members and leader seemed to agree that they wished to change their direction. However, the evaluation form was still on the agenda and the leader returned to that for the bulk of the meeting.

These meetings, designed to train group chairmen in leadership skills, appeared to have become task-oriented rather than process-oriented because of the urgency of administrative matters. The leader and many members were involved in issues and problems of project operations which could not be handled at any other time. Not only was leadership training sacrificed for administrative discussions, but the latter were often ineffective and frustrating because of lack of information and authority in this group.

A similar intrusion of administrative detail was a deterrent in the small group meetings. It appeared that meetings for training cannot be successful unless adequate provision is made for taking care of administrative problems at some other time and place.

All aides met together, apart from teachers, on a number of occasions. In addition to the monthly scheduled career development meeting, there were several meetings on integration. In December, the aides from the four schools in the ESEA program met together, and planned to meet regularly. One of their shared concerns, in addition to integration, was to receive benefits such as sick leave, vacation pay and health insurance.

Participants' Evaluation of the Training. During group interviews it became evident that dissatisfaction with inservice training was widespread. It was described by many as "pointless," "a waste of time," or "worse than last year." Teachers and aides agreed on their evaluation of the meetings.

Formal Questionnaires. A formal questionnaire concerning the training was given to all participants during the final week of the evaluation period (see Appendix IX). Teachers' written criticisms were even more severe than their oral replies. Aides were not asked for written narrative responses; their scores on a short checklist were not strongly negative, but neither were the teachers', on the checklist.

Many teachers found topics discussed at the meetings to be of little or no help, while the aides averaged a "some help" rating. Most of the respondents thought people stayed on the topic, but teachers thought only sometimes or seldom did they reach decisions while a majority of the aides thought they usually did. Aides rated the leadership high, a majority saying it was very effective; the teachers' highest rating was "effective," given by half of them. Making good use of group time was marked "usually" or "sometimes" by almost all participants. They also largely agreed that discussion was shared by both, except for two aides who thought aides talked most, and four teachers who thought teachers carried the discussions.

What Have Training Sessions Helped Aides to Understand. Aides were asked to check as many items as they wished of ten things which the training sessions helped them to understand. Sixteen aides gave the following ratings to better understanding:

Teachers	14
Myself	13
Relationship between school and community	11
Responsibilities of a teacher	11
Why teacher uses certain teaching methods	11
How the home can help children succeed in school	10
What children need to do to succeed in school	9
How to help children with behavior problems	8
Why teachers discipline as they do	7
What I'm supposed to do in the classroom	6

It seems likely that the answers refer more to the impact of the entire program than specifically to inservice meetings. Some topics like responsibilities of teachers had little attention in the meetings, but the aides certainly learned about them while in the classroom. A question which referred specifically to learning about the classroom role received the lowest rating probably because aides had not clarified their roles either in or out of the meetings.

The aides' positive response is seen in their answers to several questions about the meetings. Only three of the 17 aides thought the meetings were too long; two thought they were held too often. All but one thought career development meetings should be held more often. Ten preferred small group to large group meetings. "We need a planned agenda for each meeting" proved to be an equivocal question. All answered "yes" but several added the notation that they did have a planned agenda.

Narrative Responses. Instead of checklists, teachers were asked to give narrative responses to eight questions. Their responses were of two types: some were generally critical in all their answers; others varied between approval and criticism in a discriminating manner (in the positive sense). Seven teachers were generally critical. Some of them, but not all, are teachers who had low scores on aide utilization. However, criticism of the meetings, which were generally unpopular with the teachers, is not the same as criticism of the program.

The "discriminating" group generally agreed that they felt free to discuss any topic, although one person pointed out that they had always stayed on safe topics. They usually indicated specific ways in which they found the meetings helpful to both teachers and aides. On the critical side, six persons said they were not free to discuss any topic; eight said meetings did not help with classroom problems and four said neither they nor the aides had learned anything from the meetings.

On the critical side, six persons said they were not free to discuss any topic; eight said meetings did not help with classroom problems and four said neither they nor the aides had learned anything from the meetings.

Teachers listed a number of helpful suggestions or analyses concerning the training meetings. (When no number of responses is given, only one respondent made the comment.):

In What Ways Have Team Meetings Been Useful in Solution of Classroom Problems?

Cleared the air–pointed up problems
Discussion of classroom incidents
Discussion of interpersonal relations
Learned how to plan

What Benefits Have You Derived from Participation in Team Meetings?

Better relationships with members–2
Insights and understanding of others–2

Feedback of what others in school are doing
Self-confidence as a leader
Learned more about own feelings
Learned how hostile aides are toward school
Saw how insensitive people are

In What Can Team Meetings be Improved?

Preplanned, definite topics–4
Shortened–3
More structure–2
Better use of group process–2

What Training Activities Other Than Team Meetings Might be Initiated?

More planning time for teacher and aide–6
Curriculum study and training–3
Allowing teacher to do her own training of aide–2
Workshop type of meetings
Teaching and interpersonal relations techniques
Assigned and structured observation
Visiting other classes
Basic English and grammar
Group dynamics with skilled leadership

Have Team Meetings Helped Clarify Teacher and Aide Roles? In What Ways?

Placed emphasis on teacher's initiation of learning
Learned how others used aides
Discussed values, rationale of aides
Responsibilities not made clear
Role was already clear
"Is the teacher a trainer of aides?"

What Do You Perceive the Aides Learned from the Meetings?

They have become more objective–do not blame others so much
Learned goals of teaching and teaching techniques
Learned what to expect of teachers (some negative learning about teachers)
Improved their self-concept, learned their opinion was respected
Became more sensitive to learning process and interpersonal relations

In What Ways are Team Meetings Helpful in Promoting Community Involvement?

Encouraged aides to talk to neighbors–2
Brought unity between school and community on integration–2
Resulted in block meeting on integration

Few teachers made added comments; those were largely critical.

"The aide program would be more valuable if we had known ahead of time so that we could plan with and for the aides. Too much time has been spent nonprofitably in meetings which actually detracts from the quality of the classroom job." This comment was from a teacher who "avoided" both opportunities for a planning period in the classroom with her aide.

"The Tuesday meetings are a waste of time. They are too contrived, lack spontaneity and are without clear purpose; a meeting for a meeting's sake is awkward and tiring." This teacher had high utilization of aides and interpersonal interaction rankings.

"Perhaps aides need meetings. Teachers are professionals who should be able to plan and work with their aides during the school day, at their own discretion." This teacher answered all questions about the meetings with a negative tone.

Perspective Differential. Teachers and aides were observed to have quite different views of the same situation. For instance, aides described the amount of time they spent with pupils as "the bulk of the time," "the biggest share," "Most of the time;" whereas observation and interviews with teachers and administrators indicated they spent less than half of their time in this way. Teachers felt training meetings went slowly because aides were inarticulate; aides felt that the teachers held back, because of fear or indifference.

During interviews, aides frequently volunteered the information that the school was greatly improved during the past year due to the aides' work in the school. When teachers were asked about school improvement, they either recognized none, or attributed it to other causes.

Discrepancies in perception, whether of circumstances, roles or methods, make understanding and cooperation more difficult. *It appeared to the observers that participants in the program operated on an assumption of mutuality of purpose and direction which did not exist.* To explore the direction and depth of difference, an instrument was developed and administered the last week of the semester.

Forced-Choice Questionnaire. A forced-choice questionnaire was formulated from statements made by teachers and aides regarding the values of the aide in the classroom. The forced-choice form was used in order to avoid problems of response set. Research the previous year had indicated a high response level for both teachers and aides, as well as a tendency for some to be indiscriminate or capricious in assigning values. The forced-choice, limited to four positive and four negative selections, assures some discrimination, and gives a 1 to 3 value to 12 items.

The aides had become familiar with this type of instrument the previous year, and therefore experienced no problems with the mechanics of it; the only error in procedure was made by a teacher. Inasmuch as all 12 items were important from the aides' point of view, it required real concentration and effort for them to select the *most* and the *least* important. They were given the questionnaire in a group so it was possible to observe that they appeared to work seriously and without dependence upon each other.

Because of what had been learned in previous research and through the interviews, it was possible to predict the general direction of variance. The pattern of the instrument was a series of statements of which the first was aide-oriented, the second neutral, the third teacher-oriented. Thus aides were expected to select 1-4-7-10; teachers 3-6-9-12. From Figure V it can be seen that statements 1 and 7, 3, 6, and 12 did differentiate as expected. However, the other three proved to be neutral, while two predicted as neutral, dealing with parents in the school, turned out to be of highest value to the aides.

While in error about the relative importance of some of the statements, the observers found their overall prediction of differentiation was confirmed. On half of the values, aides and teachers moved in opposite directions, which one marked important the other marked as unimportant (Figure VI).

Role expectations are probably involved in the two widest discrepancies, on No. 6 and No. 7. The phrase "extra pair of hands," used frequently by teachers, appeared to include more than working with the hands, as it was sometimes illustrated as working with children. However, it does seem to keep the aide as an extension of the teacher. Had a phrase like "teacher's assistant" been used, it is likely that the aides would have responded more positively–but teachers less so!

Teachers' negative response to the suggestion that aides are responsible for higher expectations of children is related to their role concept which they must defend. They can hardly admit that they have been remiss in their dealings with pupils and that it has taken a nonprofessional to set them straight.

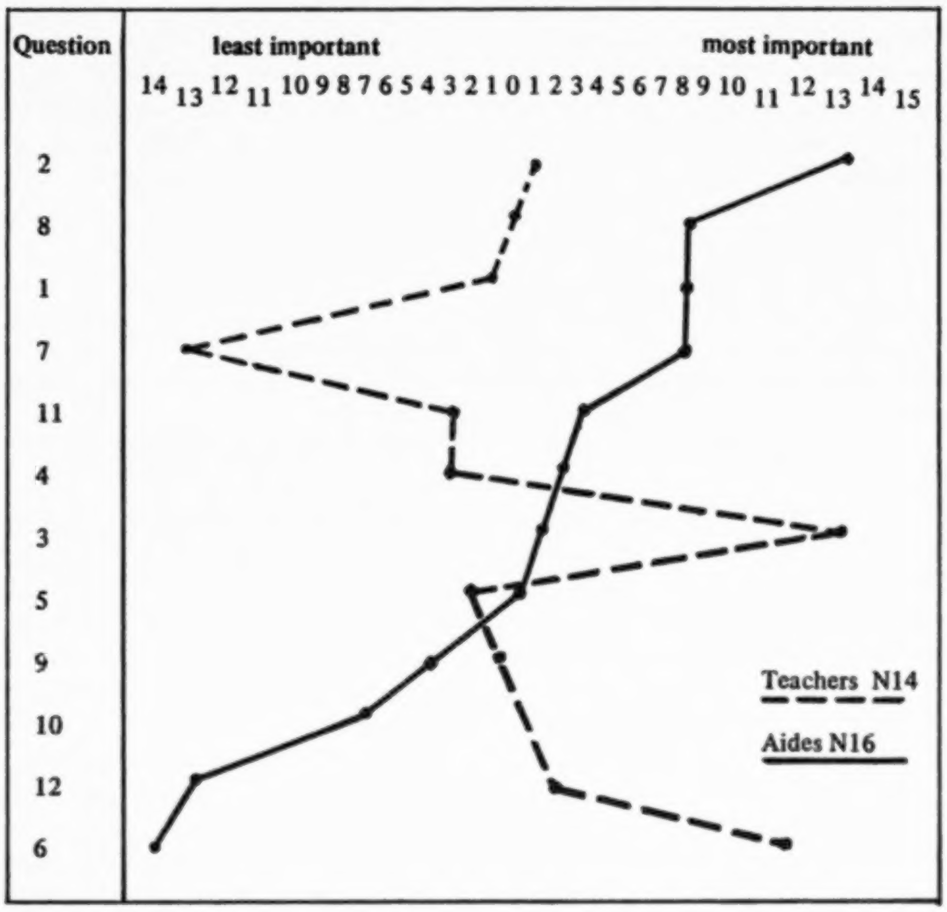
The teachers' relatively low markings on parents' contacts and understanding probably indicate not that this is considered unimportant but that the aides have not affected the parents' relationship to the school. This was brought out clearly in interviews, to be discussed later.

In addition to differences in role expectations, it is speculated that a divergence in basic orientation separates teachers and aides. Teachers are concerned about academic achievement whereas aides are more apt to react to personal behavior of pupils. The twelve questions were divided, therefore, between six that were "academic"–3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12–and six "personal"–1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10. Aides and teachers separated sharply and in the expected direction (Figure VII). All but one aide had predominantly "personal" scores; all but three teachers were "academic." The zero position indicates three teachers were equally divided between "personal" and "academic." The one atypical aide made more "academic" choices.

Although no claim can be made that these statements actually do measure "academic" or "personal" attitudes, irrespective of the categorization used, they demonstrate the similarities among aides as to "aide

FIGURE V

VALUE OF AIDES
Aides' Rankings Contrasted by Teachers'



attitudes" and among teachers as to "teacher attitudes," and the sharp differential between them. They thereby achieve their main purpose of pointing up the presence and extent of perspective differential. The differences are sufficiently great to seem to warrant their consideration in planning and administering an aide program.

Administrative Problems. The addition of 17 persons to the staff would increase administrative responsibilities in any event, but it becomes even more complicated when the roles are new and functions unclear. Problems arise over the use of time, performance expectations, and authority rights.

On the whole, the classroom and training programs ran smoothly. Inasmuch as the aides all had had a year of experience in the school, they understood procedures and fitted readily into the daily schedule. Although only two teachers had previously had aides in their classrooms, most had had some contact with them, as only three teachers were new to Columbus

FIGURE VI

VALUE OF AIDES
Differential Between Teachers and Aides

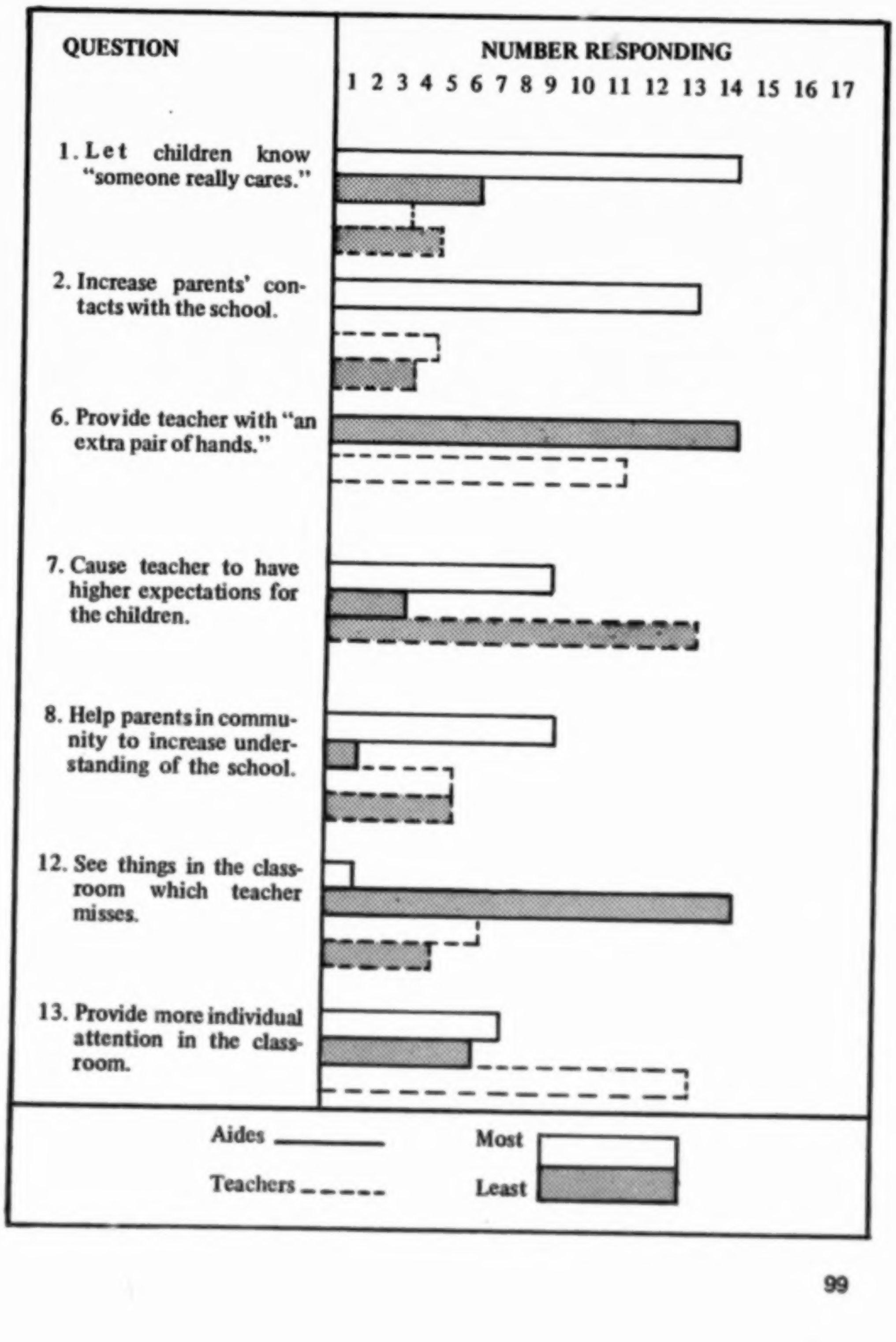
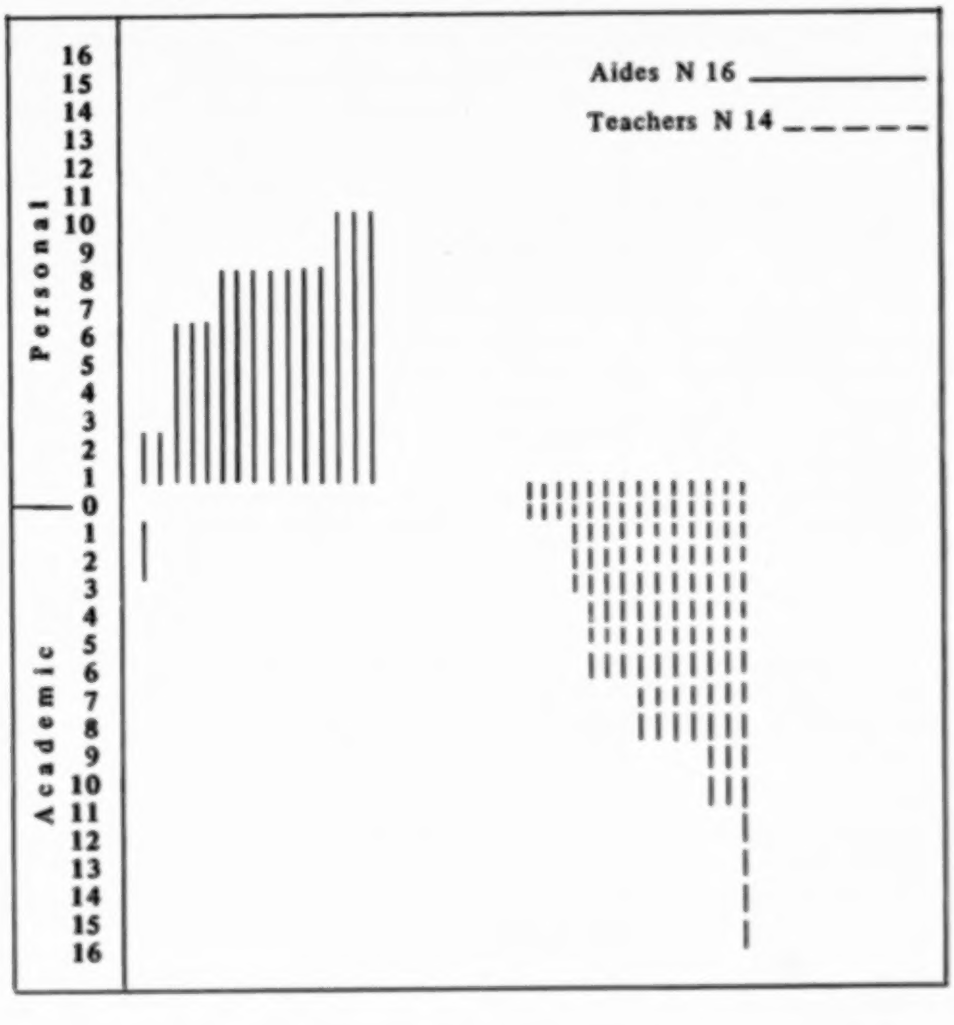


FIGURE VII

VALUE OF AIDES

Comparison of "Personal" and "Academic" Orientations



School. They had seen the program in operation the year before and were aware of the generally favorable attitude of the school personnel.

Difficulties observed were those common to any organization which undertakes innovation. Participants at different hierarchical levels have different goals, expectations, and perspectives, and these will occasionally conflict even under competent administration. The more alert the administration is to stress potentials, the more they can be minimized.

Teachers felt that the program was less successful because their ideas and wishes had not been considered. Some stated that not only were they uninvolved in the planning, but also they had had no prior notice that they were to be assigned an aide. This statement appears to contradict the

Teacher Preservice Program described earlier. Possibly the teachers who felt unprepared had failed to attend these meetings.

When asked what changes they would make in the program, several teachers indicated they thought teachers should have a voice in development of the format and their own participation in it.

"Teachers should be involved in setting it up. We were just told."

"I thought it would be an option, and I decided I had enough to get used to, so I didn't want an aide."

"I have never felt any need for a helper in the classroom."

"Teachers who don't want aides are made to feel something is wrong with their personality. An experienced, excellent teacher says she doesn't want an aide, and she is told she must be very flexible and should work well with this aide because the aide is so wonderful. So the program is built up to help the aide's ego, which is fine but let's not knock down the teacher as well. I think teachers should be given a choice."

The seven teachers who made the above statements all have low rankings on personal use of aides: 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14. It is probable that a strong correlation exists between a teacher's desire to have an aide and effectiveness of utilization.

Teachers indicated that their roles with the aides had not been clarified. They said they were not sure what was considered to be "proper" functioning of an aide. They did not know if they were supposed to "teach the aide or use the aide." They also observed that aides differed widely in ability which necessitated assigning different types of tasks.

Aides expressed less concern over clarity of their roles; their complaints were concrete and apparently realistic. Several felt that their teachers didn't need them or want them. However, through discussion with the teacher and in some cases with the project director, they believed the problem had been worked out.

Lack of understanding and specificity of authority rights led to occasional confusion. According to the teachers, some unidentifiable "they" was always calling the aides out of the classroom, especially to meetings.

"I tell my aide to do something–but she has to go to a meeting."

"Those meetings are really a bug."

"There should be better planning so there aren't all these emergencies when aides are called out."

Teachers came to feel that they did not have control over their aides' time, and could not be sure that their own plans could be carried out. The fact that aides were called out of the classroom much more frequently than teachers, tended to reinforce a picture of the aide as peripheral to teaching and readily expendable, although this undoubtedly was the opposite of "they's" intent.

The uncertainty of authority junctions was dramatized for the observers by the resistance they encountered when they attempted to arrange for group interviews with aides.

Resistance to observation and evaluation is to be expected; it did not seem to be unusually high on the present project, although it might have been eased through more open discussion and participation in the process. When a new observer entered one classroom the teacher questioned her being there, disclaiming any awareness of her purpose although a notice about her projected visit had been sent to all teachers several days before.

On another occasion after school, an observer casually asked a passing teacher if she had seen the aides expected for an interview. The teacher's unsmiling response was "They've probably gone home as anyone should at this hour."

Despite such specific problems, in general, all participants had positive feelings toward the administration and the school board. They appeared to take pride in being part of a program which was pioneering and democratic in emphasis. Both teachers and aides also mentioned that parents in the community felt closer to and more involved in the life of the school. "They're not afraid to come to the school anymore; they know we're here," the aides explained.

Modified Inservice Training Model. At the conclusion of the data gathering and analysis period, it became obvious to all participants in the project that a restructuring of much which had transpired would be necessary in order for the project to achieve its original goals. As a result of this understanding, the person who had served as the major process-observer for data collection, analysis and integration was hired by the Columbus School to restructure the approach to the inservice training. The decision to embark on a different type of training has proven to be most beneficial to the project.

Various types of approaches have been utilized in gaining higher use of aides in productive activities, in clarifying work relationships, and in examining attitudes and values expressed in the data collected. Among the approaches, since the conclusion of the data gathering, are: preparation of materials from observations and questionnaires to be used as a basis for discussion in meetings; the utilization of flip charts, transparencies, etc. to present these data for discussion. Using such data from the project has been an important and integral part of inservice training since formal evaluation of the project was completed.

Information was gathered by the inservice director from other school districts utilizing auxiliary personnel. Discussion centered around the amount of time used in managerial activities by aides, amount of time teachers spend in instruction, general usage of aides versus specifically assigned and "trained usage," *i.e.*, using the skills for which aides have been trained. Attempts at bridging the cultural gap between teacher and aide have comprised a major activity in the new inservice approach.

Individual conferences with all teachers involved in the project were held during a period of two weeks. These conferences centered around the observation data of the teacher's own classroom and her level of utilization of her aide. Following these individual conferences, it is interesting to note that four of the teachers asked if a sharing of the data could be made with aides and teachers together.

Data obtained from classroom observations, attitude questionnaires and evaluation forms were used in planning the inservice training program from January to June. Empirical data which seemed significant and pertinent for staff development were: 1) marked differences between classrooms in the utilization of aides; 2) clearly defined attitudinal differentials between teacher and aides; 3) widespread dissatisfaction with the inservice training program, on the part of the teachers.

The format for training which the data suggested was the feedback to participants of the quantified information about their attitude and behavior. For this to be meaningful for increase in communication, it was believed that a carefully planned "group process" approach should be used. To introduce this new program, therefore, a consultant was employed who had training and experience in this type of staff development.

An analysis of the previous inservice program and its evaluation by the participants indicated that it had lacked structure and direction, and tended to deal almost exclusively with administrative tasks or problems of school integration. The evaluation team had introduced case studies drawn from classroom observation which had stimulated good discussion, but there was otherwise little discussion of actual events or interactions from the classroom. Several persons suggested in their evaluations that there was a need for more structure and clarity of direction.

Although the consultant suggested starting fresh in January with an entirely new format, it did not prove to be administratively feasible. The imposition of the new program on the old structure somewhat impeded its progress, chiefly in that the former group leaders were not appropriate for the new approach. Since they were already involved in a leadership training program, there was little opportunity to give them the specific training needed for the new task.

For the first inservice meetings in January, the teachers and aides met separately to study and discuss the data on classroom behavior. It was assumed that they would be initially much more free in discussion in separate groups and also that the material would need to be presented differently to each group. Teachers who had often been nonparticipative in the sessions became more involved in discussion of the data because it applied to them personally (although presented anonymously). Aides understood the graphs and tables without difficulty and discussed them with great insight.

Results of the attitude questionnaire on "Value of Aides" which had been administered to both teachers and aides were also presented and analysis encouraged as to the reasons for the differences. This led to very animated, sometimes heated, discussion among aides and teachers separately. Following their separate consideration of the issues, they were better able to talk together about their differences.

Another approach was to institute role playing. The subject matter of role playing was the plan for integration of the schools of Berkeley which was to take place beginning in the fall of 1968. This role playing technique proved to be very effective and led to discussion of better handling of some questions as well as better ways of presenting one's self. The inservice leader assumed the role of initiating and guiding the situation and directing discussion so that teachers and aides were free to do their own diagnosis and prescription.

It is interesting to note that the aides volunteered readily and entered enthusiastically into the role playing. Teachers, however, would not volunteer. Through some group pressures, the inservice leader got three teachers to consent to participate and although they did a very good job, they did not enter into the process with the same degree of interest and enthusiasm that was characteristic of the aides.

After such role playing activities, the participants were broken down into groups and the leadership teams then handled the meetings. The result was that participation at this point was much more active than it had been previously. Several aides who had never talked in groups reacted strongly and positively to the role playing experience. It is significant to note that when an aide disagreed with the way a part had been played, she wanted to act the part herself rather than merely verbalize her ideas about it. Teachers, on the other hand, verbalized their ideas and so did not have the urge to enter into the role playing enthusiastically.

While it is not possible to describe in detail the many activities now being engaged in during the inservice meetings, the pages which follow this section of the report are indicative of the types and nature of some of the materials currently being considered. This phase of inservice education for both teachers and aides appears to be yielding positive results in terms of conflicts and differences.

The problem of developing adequate leadership for small group discussions was handled by the use of a process-observer to assist each chairman. This made it possible for the training consultant to select four persons who had shown awareness of the group process to supplement the chairman's task-oriented leadership. In addition, the process-observers' reports given in each meeting were very helpful in the education of the group toward the interaction purposes of the meetings. Two of the process-observers chosen were teachers and two were aides.

The four chairmen and four process-observers constituted a Leadership Team which met for special training with the consultant as often as this could be arranged within the school schedule. Within the limited time available, it was possible to increase the sensitivity and skill of participants and also to plan with them the general purpose and structure for the inservice meetings.

Post-meeting evaluations midway in the semester indicated an increased interest and involvement in the training. Some comments were:

"The meetings seem more honest... coming to grips with the 'nitty-gritty'."

"I have found discussion of teaching patterns and views of aide's role very interesting."

"I found the outline for problem solving very helpful."

We have lost some ground in interaction between teachers and aides; perhaps it is necessary before we can go forward."

Teachers indicated what they liked best as: "beginnings of understanding of real feeling of aides;" "Self-analysis concerning attitudes of both teachers and aides;" "freedom to discuss problems without fear of hurting feelings."

Such comments indicate that participants understood the meeting's basic purpose of increasing communication, and of becoming involved in the process.

SUMMARY

The unique features of the inservice education model, the use of empirical data as feedback for discussion, and the encouragement of self-assessment through sensitivity training techniques, have proved to be both practical within a local school and effective for increasing understanding and communication. The model would seem to be adaptable to other educational or "new career" programs, provided adequate staff resources were available for conducting the collection and presentation of data, and guiding the group processes related to the facilitation of self-assessment.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROGRAM

If there is one overriding understanding that has been derived from this program, it is that to initiate a program for the utilization of aides is indeed a difficult and complex operation. It becomes obvious that the typical teacher, however dedicated, is almost totally unprepared for sharing with aides her responsibilities to children in the classroom. *The restructuring of the process of preservice education for teachers to include this facet of classroom functioning seems essential.*

It is imperative that there be developed new training approaches and techniques for the preparation of auxiliary personnel. The current efforts as reported in literature appear woefully inadequate.

Perceptions and abilities of aides and of teachers are major determinants in the success of any program. Great care must be exercised in the selection process so that sensitive and perceptive people are chosen for these important roles. All aides and teachers cannot automatically be expected to be equally effective.

It is essential that auxiliary personnel not be imposed upon teachers without adequate preparation, psychologically and practically, for sharing classroom responsibilities.

Some type of individual observation and evaluation, with opportunity for feedback and discussion of specific cases, holds great promise for improvement of utilization of auxiliary personnel.

Continuous intensive inservice education for all school personnel is required if success is to be achieved.

Leadership for inservice training should reside in experts not directly responsible for the administration of the school program. The typical school principal has more functions and responsibilities than he can deal with presently, without adding these additional burdens to his office.

Released time for planning together by teachers and auxiliary personnel each day is an important determinant of success.

Finally it would appear that parents as aides may make an important contribution to education.

REPORT OF DIRECTOR

Report by
Jerome H. Gilbert

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES JANUARY–MARCH 1968

Early in January, on the basis of feedback from evaluation, the aides were reassigned to a number of classrooms. Through December, 1967, all of the 14 aides at Columbus School had been placed in kindergarten through second grade classes, and each teacher had an aide for the full day. Beginning January 2, classes were assigned aides on the basis of the number of children designated as being part of the ESEA Project.

Children were given reading instruction two hours a day. The children in Columbus are grouped for reading in nongraded reading groups.

When the teacher presented a lesson to children who were underachievers, the aide observed. The teacher went on to work with another group of children and the aide was left to assist the first group. In addition to this type of involvement, the aide also helped in the construction and duplication of instructional materials, read to small groups of children, and gave tutorial assistance from time to time. The librarian aide and one of the guidance aides worked two hours a day with upper grade children.

The upper grade reading coordinator, who is also the remedial reading teacher, went into each classroom to observe the aides when they were working with their group. She also discussed with the teachers the kinds of help aides needed in order to do a better job. In terms of the information she collected, the reading coordinator developed an inservice reading program for the aide. She met with the aides for one hour each Friday.

The reassignment of aides produced a marked improvement in their utilization. There was a great increase in aides' involvement in instruction and a sharp reduction in nonutilization of their time. The upper grade teachers greatly appreciated their assistance in improving the program of instruction. The aides also believed that they were being utilized more effectively. By March, teachers and aides both felt that there had been marked improvement in the reading ability of the children.

Another dimension of change is that the teacher aides have gained the support of the Berkeley Federation of Teachers and Berkeley Educators Association in their efforts to acquire fringe benefits. The Board of Education has now granted the aides sick leave, legal and board holidays, and personal leave. Progress has been made to improve the program and increase the morale and status of the auxiliary personnel.

CONCLUSION

To effectively educate the children of the poor, the school must ally itself with all persons who substantially influence the education of these children. Desired changes in children's behavior may be most successfully achieved when the school assumes the responsibility for marshalling all persons who mainly affect that behavior at each age level, such as parents, other adults, older children, and peers. Child development and animal behavior research emphasize the importance of the environment–physical and human–upon later learning and behavior. The child of the poor is often seriously handicapped before he arrives at school. The school, by itself, has been singularly unsuccessful in educating children who are disadvantaged. What, how, why, and if a child learns certainly is determined by the social context in which he lives, who his teachers are, and what and how they teach him. The school must construct a bridge with the culture different from that of the middle class American society to develop working relationships, communication, and trust among the two prime parents or teachers of these children. A program which employs low-income parents as auxiliary personnel to work with teachers to educate their children and which enhances the sense of importance and the aspirations of the parents themselves, might contribute to the development of a school in which children of the poor can succeed.

END-OF-THE YEAR DEVELOPMENTS AND ANECDOTES

During 1967 and early in 1968 some of the aides were still expressing strong feelings about the fact that children at each grade level should be reading in books at that grade level. Shortly past mid-year, after the aides had been working closely with teachers and helping the children who were underachieving in reading, the aides recognized that the problem was not that simple and that teachers were not holding children back. Some of them said that they did give children books at their grade level and saw the pain the children were having in trying to do work that was beyond their ability at that time.

An improvement in reading ability among upper grade children has been observed by aides and teachers. Those children who were virtually nonreaders at the beginning of this school year are now successful in reading. The remedial reading teacher and the author, as principal, have seen these expressions by the aides and teachers substantiated.

Anecdotal material was submitted by the remedial reading teacher who met weekly with the aides to instruct them on how to teach reading to children.

> An aide operates Flash-X (Tachistoscope) in auditorium for several sixth grade boys–poor readers and hard to handle. Boys followed closely, checking own writing. Also, same aide worked with fourth grade boys who were unable to read last year and are now reading. She played "Bingo" with words they are reading. She bought a prize once a week. Also, this aide wants to buy a Flaxh-X for her own use.

> An aide in the sixth grade classroom worked with a new girl who came from Texas four months ago. This girl could scarcely read. Thin and suffering from sickle cell (anemia) the child was teased about her dialect by other children. The aide asked the teacher if she could help this child. Within three months, the child had improved greatly, and the aide is proud. The child's attendance is better now.

In the interviews with teachers at the end of the year conducted by the process-observer, all teachers expressed the belief that the aides were a tremendous asset in promoting a good climate in the classroom and a higher level of learning for the children.

It is the observation of the author, as principal, that the children relate very well to the aides who seem to understand some of the things that are upsetting them, more in a supportive way than in a punitive way, and are able to get them to do their school work.

The auxiliary program contributed to the author's own growth, as principal, and to the growth of the teachers, of the teacher aides, and most importantly, of the children.

REPORT OF PROCESS-OBSERVER

Report by
Adena Joy

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

Value of the Aides. According to the results of the interviews by the process-observer, all teachers agreed that aides were most valuable for providing additional individual attention for the children. They differed only in the degree of their enthusiasm for what had been accomplished in terms of additional learning for the pupils. Many cited specific children who had benefited.

> One child with a serious chronic illness had long ago dropped behind her classmates and ceased trying to learn. But because an aide sat with her every

> day to give her assistance and individual encouragement, she not only gained skill in reading but her school attendance and entire personal adjustment improved.
>
> Another aide, through her continual personal attention to a child, discovered he had a speech defect. The teacher said it would have been a long time before she herself could pinpoint the problem. When the aide came to her to explain her findings, she had already identified exactly which sounds were giving the child trouble, making possible immediate remedial planning for him.

Among the ways in which teachers said they made profitable use of the aides' time, were: individual help on basic subjects; drill work, "games," worksheets; someone for the child to read to; assistance on words and meanings; encouragement and support for the child; attention to child who is dependent; handling unoccupied or misbehaving child.

One teacher said, "She's better with that group than I am. She's very calm with them."

> One of the teachers in the second grade stated that her aide would observe the children in a group while they were working at mathematics and reading, and would analyze the kinds of learning problems the children were having and feedback her analyses to the teacher. The teacher considered this extremely helpful, and because she was busy with other children, she learned things about the children's learning problems that she would not have been able to find out without the perceptiveness of this aide.

Ways to Increase the Value of Aides. The most universally expressed need was for more planning time with the aide. All teachers said they found no time for this, and had to learn to utilize the aide without joint preplanning. To some extent teachers followed a practice of presenting something to a group with the aide observing, and then having the aide carry on. This was rare, however; the more usual method was to have the aide either assisting with workbooks, drills or oral reading, or generally answering questions and giving help throughout the room. Several teachers said that if there had been time for planning, they could have made more varied and less routinized use of the aides' time.

Teachers were asked what attempts they had made to work out planning time with the aide. They responded that they had not tried to do this, "didn't have the right to ask," or that it had proved to be impossible. Two teachers said they tried to arrange for time after school but one felt the aide resisted this; the other said, "something always happened to me or to her, and it never worked out." It is not clear why, when this was such a universal and strongly felt problem, teachers did not make greater effort to alleviate it.

Another need, variously expressed, centered around the aides developing more initiative or taking on more responsibility. Some spoke of this in relation to discipline, feeling that their aides had not assumed responsibility for the behavior of the children they worked with; in most instances they agreed that this situation had improved with time. Other teachers wished that aides would take more initiative in interacting with students. It was felt that through training and teacher encouragement, they could learn the value of such interaction, and also learn improved ways of relating to children.

Aides would be more valuable, teachers said, as their general knowledge increased. Some wished, for instance, that they understood better the process of reading: "I ask her, for example, to tell me the type of mistake the child is making–but she just doesn't grasp this." Others wished that aides might somehow be helped to understand how to ask questions, to assess reading comprehension, and how to elicit responses rather than giving the child the answers.

Many teachers said it would have been helpful if they could have been more sure of the aides' time schedule. Two teachers spoke with considerable irritation of never knowing when the aide would arrive or if she would ever get there. One teacher perceived her aide as frequently absent without warning or adequate reason; another said, "Aides always arrived a few minutes after class was under way, which is then too late to discuss the intentions or role of the day. On days when one had doubts as to whether they would show up, the lesson plan and strategy would have to be quickly changed to a one-teacher set-up. Then the aide often appears . . . and can't be utilized as well."

Aides were sometimes removed from the classroom for other jobs such as hall, cafeteria or snack duty, or chaperoning field trips. They would also remove themselves when they considered something else of greater importance, such as sickness in their family or business at the administration building. They claimed, likewise that if they were ever late it was because something of great importance had detained them, such as two boys found fighting in the halls.

It is not clear why some teachers found these time matters very distressing while others did not. In part, it may be because some aides were less reliable than others; it is probably also related to the teachers' own rigidities, as well as their comfort and ability in relating to the aides. It seems likely that teachers who did not feel free to discuss these differences with the aides or with the administration, would be more distressed by them.

Several teachers thought the reading training the aides had received was very valuable. Some others appeared to have little awareness of either the fact or the effect of this training. However, teachers generally felt the aides' skill was adequate for the basic work they were doing, and there was no feeling that they needed more specific skill training.

Although teachers discussed areas where improvement could be made in the program, they would reiterate that it had been on the whole very successful. "She's such a vast help to me–and so good for the children."

VII. AUXILIARY UTILIZATION IN DETROIT– A CASE STUDY

Lawrence Alexander, Consultant-Observer
Aileen Selick, Director

REPORT OF DIRECTOR

Report by
Aileen Selick

OVERVIEW

The major portion of this section represents a compilation of data obtained by Mrs. Aileen Selick, project director, from documents prepared by professional staff concerned with and intimately involved in the utilization of auxiliary personnel in the Detroit Public Schools. Represented are the divisions of School-Community Relations, Improvement of Instruction and State and Federal Relations, as well as the result of numerous consultations with representatives from each other division of the Detroit Schools, namely, Staff Relations, School Housing and Administration of School Units. Programmatic elements pertaining to the Concentrated Employment Project (CEP) as a component project have been secured from agency personnel who maintain a close alliance with the school system.

This complexity and broad involvement indicates the scope of the commitment of the Detroit Public Schools to such a project and emphasizes the critical need for urban area school systems to consider at length specific methods of implementing auxiliary personnel projects which will ensure the most effective and efficient coordination.

The Rationale for Utilization of Auxiliaries. The conception of the role of the professional teacher has not changed significantly in the past century. One hundred years ago, the teacher taught all students who came to him in a one-room schoolhouse. Today, largely because of the vast increase in the number of students enrolled in the nation's schools, the schoolhouse has many classrooms under one roof; and most teachers teach a group of students, all of the same age, and all studying the same subject. In other words, refinement in the classification of students has been made; but the role of the classroom teacher has not changed. Once the doors of many modern classrooms are closed, it is difficult to distinguish today's teacher from his century-past counterpart.

But while the role of the teacher has remained virtually unchanged, a vast expansion has taken place in other roles supporting the teacher. There are the college professors with their numerous specialties, the administrators of school systems, the school psychologists and social workers, the custodians, the audiovisual technicians, and the school secretaries. The expansion of roles seems almost limitless, but at the point where the modern student comes in contact with the classroom, little significant change has taken place. And significant change must take place now if twentieth century schools are to meet the demands of society. It is the classroom teacher who must have help and that help must be available where the school population is–in the classrooms and the communities. The trend over the past century to expand the professional staff in the urban school systems and universities has resulted in major advancements in curriculum and instructional methodology. But, too often, these advances do not show up in the classroom, or they take decades to become a part of the educational program.

The nation's teachers are frequently blamed for the failure of schools to change in any meaningful way. "We tell them how to do their job better," complain the university professors and school system experts, "and they go right back to their classrooms and teach the same way they always have!" This description may be accurate, but its fundamental untruth lies in its failure to probe for the reasons why teachers resist change. All too frequently, teachers do not change because they cannot change. The daily demands of their jobs–emotional and physical, and the frequency with which these demands occur–often prevent teachers from doing anything much beyond surviving.

Improvement in the pupils' learning, the only improvement which has any real value in the whole business of education, will only come when the teacher's role has been made more manageable. The use of auxiliary personnel promises to be one way of making that role manageable.

While the concepts and practices of education are among the most complex of the syndromes within which modern man operates, there are many aspects of learning which do not demand extensive training of practitioners. The person who directs the learning processes of students–the teacher–must be brilliantly trained, probably much more so than most of today's teachers are. But other adults who participate in these processes under the teacher's direction do not require such extensive training. The basic problem is to analyze the role of the teacher, decide which portions of the total role must remain the responsibility of the professional educator and which can be allocated to auxiliary personnel. Then one must select and train the latter to perform the services that they can perform, and establish these teams in the educational system.

The History of Auxiliary Utilization in Detroit. For most of the past decade, the Detroit Public Schools have been using auxiliary personnel in an increasing number of ways–lay readers, lunchroom aides, volunteer tutors, teacher aides, hall guards, school-community aides, and many others. Detroit schools have experimented with saturating individual schools with aides and have planned and launched both brief, limited training programs and broad, extensive training programs for auxiliary personnel. A training program to upgrade selected school aides was developed in 1966-67 (see Phase One). The Special Projects Office has developed fringe benefits and hiring procedures for 1,300 staff aides, teacher aides, and transportation aides.

Riots and Jobs–A New Dimension of the Need. The following excerpts from the Progress Report of The New Detroit Committee, published April, 1968, indicate the nature and extent of the need for this program:

"On July 22 the author of a letter to the editor in **The Detroit Free Press** predicted that despite Congressional anti-riot legislation and 'because of lynching, starvation and intimidation in the South or . . . rats, poverty and subtle discrimination in the North,' riots would continue. 'Remember,' the writer concluded, 'it could happen here.'

"The very next day–July 23, 1967–an early Sunday morning raid by police on a second-story afterhours speakeasy in Detroit's inner-city touched off a frightful chain reaction which bore out this dire prediction and which moved an entire nation to examine the possible causes of what would, within four days, become the most destructive civil disturbance in America in this century. . .

"Before the week's end, 43 persons had been killed, all but four of the victims of gunfire. . .

"Entire rows of homes and stores lay in waste. Thousands had been arrested. Confidence lay in ruins. . .

"Even while buildings still burned and sirens wailed, scholars, urban specialists and government investigators began to probe in hopes of finding an answer to the one question that lay heavy over the still-smoking city: Why Detroit?

"Neither the dimensions of the disturbance nor the problems it raised deterred those who sought to dig down to its deepest root causes. Possibly never in history has a violent, localized socio-economic upheaval been subjected to such immediate, specialized and thorough scrutiny. . .

"Nevertheless, it became obvious that no matter how many studies were produced or hearings held, there would always be differing perspectives, judgments and exceptions on the causes and origins of Detroit's July disturbances. . .

"To almost all, proof had been provided that whatever Detroit had done in the past had been insufficient. Clearly something was now required beyond emergency responses of a community struck by sudden disaster. Something was needed to radically alter the attitudes and the neglect that had given Detroit its long hot summer's week. Something had to be done to stimulate a total community rife with fear, bewilderment, disorganization, and disenchantment. The capital of the automotive world had to move forward. Old Detroit would have to become a New Detroit."

THE URBAN AREA EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

The Detroit Public Schools recognized the importance of developing new jobs which were accessible to persons unable to compete in the existing job market. This inability to compete, on the part of many persons, had suggested the creation of separate channels of job development and job experience. The successful experiences of the Detroit Schools in utilizing auxiliary personnel, including those recruited from the ranks of the indigent, encouraged them to implement the present program.

The Detroit Public Schools entered into the CEP by creating 163 auxiliary personnel positions in accord with the concept and designation of the Urban Area Employment Project (UAEP), itself. The City of Detroit's UAEP was designed to provide job training and/or work experience for approximately 1,700 "hardcore unemployed or underemployed" persons, living within a special impact area of the City of Detroit. (The specific area is bounded on the North by the Edsel Ford Freeway, on the East by McClellan Street, on the South by Vernor Highway, on the West by Michigan Avenue and the New York Central Railway.) A portion of each of Detroit's operative war on poverty target areas is included in this special impact area.

The funding for this portion of the project is provided by several federal programs administered by the Department of Labor in cooperation with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These monies were made available as a result of Detroit's identification as one of nineteen cities receiving special assistance. The original designation of this project at the federal level was "Urban Slum Employment Project." Currently it is being referred to nationally as the Concentrated Employment Project (CEP), the Urban Area Employment Project (UAEP), or "Operation Mainstream."

Recruitment and Selection. Enrollees were recruited by the existing agencies from local sources such as community centers, schools, churches, and employment offices. All such enrollees were obligated to meet described limitations as to residence and work history, i.e., living in the special impact area and being unemployed or underemployed. All intake services were assumed by a special program and included screening, assessment, diagnosis and referral. The exact "requisition" for 165 adult enrollees included:

"1. Age. It is requested that the enrollees provided to the Detroit Public School UAEP be between the ages of 22 and 65 years in order to provide for permanence of employment under the established policy of the Detroit Board of Education concerning mandatory retirement at age 70.

However, it is requested that not more than one-fourth of the UAEP trainees be over 60 years of age, that not more than one-fourth be between the ages of 50 and 60 years of age, while the remaining one-half be representative of the chronological character of the specially designated target area.

"2. Sex. It is requested that specific steps be taken to provide a split of men and women approximating 90 females and 75 males as is possible.

"3. Medical Examinations. It will be necessary for the enrollees to comply with the established policy of the Detroit Board of Education by submitting to a medical examination performed by a designated agent (Maybury Grand Clinic) for reporting to the Medical Department of the Detroit Public Schools. The entire cost of this examination will be borne by the grantee at the rate previously agreed upon. It will be possible for the 165 enrollees to comply with this policy in two days, to be scheduled during the first week of their assignment as trainees. Every effort will be made to schedule these examinations at the location to be used throughout the project as project quarters in order to consider this procedure as an integral part of the training process, while providing the most efficient utilization of trainee and staff time.

In the initial screening phase where a medical examination will occur, it should be emphasized that gross medical disabilities will preclude employment in the Detroit Public Schools, but in most cases the policy can be considered to be liberal and flexible.

Each enrollee will be expected to comply with the policy of providing annual proof of freedom from active tuberculosis by chest x-ray.

"4. Fingerprinting policy and Criminal Records. Initially, the Detroit Public Schools will comply with General Provision No. 43(b) concerning individuals convicted as cited; however other types of past criminal records will be acceptable subject to 1) that no person possessing a sexual crime conviction or any allied record involving children will be employed, 2) that other criminal convictions and/or citations shall be screened according to established policies where the counsel of the attorney and the personnel department shall be sought by the project director, 3) that all applicants shall be cautioned to indicate any such record on the forms provided to them and 4) that all male applicants shall comply with the policy of the Detroit Board of Education regarding fingerprinting."

Orientation. The same agency (i.e., STEPS of the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources Development) assumed the responsibility for providing orientation and preemployment counseling for the enrollees and a determination of the need for basic education, motivation or related preparation prior to placement in work training or employment.

Composition of Enrollee Group. On December 11, 1967, 165 enrollees reported to the site for processing as Detroit Board of Education employees. This processing included a medical examination, completion of various forms required by the Detroit Schools such as oath of allegiance, Social Security, formal work application, chest x-ray compliance, hospitalization, etc. The enrollees were classified as UAEP trainees effective that date. Of the group 14 were male and 151 female, ranging in age from 19 through 60 years. Within the first three days, three persons left the project; one man indicated that he could get a better job, one expressed a disinterest for the program and the other, a young lady of 19 was released because the project is legally limited to adults over age 22.

During the approximate five months duration of the project, exactly 20 persons left or were terminated. Replacements were selected in the same fashion as the original 165 enrollees.

During the first month, five enrollees were terminated, of whom three have already been described; during the second month, five additional trainees were terminated, of whom all were released because of the nature of their criminal records which had been received from the local and federal authorities by this date. The other 12 employees were released for reasons of health in almost all cases, with accompanying emotional and/or psychological problems in many instances.

It should be noted that only 6 terminations have occurred since the trainees were placed in aide positions as auxiliary personnel within the schools (a percentage of minimal significance–3.6%).

There were, as of that date, only 22 persons in the Service Aide classification which indicates that this line of vertical movement can be achieved in a relatively short period. Concern about the "dead-end upper level" however is even more critical.

Staffing. The initiation of a program of auxiliary personnel where a saturation of five schools is designated warrants the utmost in care and supervision. Yet, the Detroit Public School System made a deliberate effort to limit the administration of the project to only those positions which were felt to be absolutely mandatory in the management of the project in a centralized thrust with decentralized and semiautonomous operation.

The project director and project coordinator were able to be in direct contact with each school through not only the traditional organizational channels leading through principal and teacher to the auxiliary, but also through a newly-created "coach." The coach is a professional trained in a discipline which has exposed him to academic and community structures and principles and interpersonal relations techniques. The newness of the role of the auxiliary precludes any stereotyping of responses for this new force on the part of the auxiliary, the teacher, the school, administration, the community, and most importantly, the children. As a result, the coach must help to create an atmosphere in which all may function to improve the outcomes of the new approach to education.

The project coordinator and the five coaches were selected through a procedure carefully designated to include community participation in a decision making role. Announcements of the positions were distributed to the Personnel Subcommittee of the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development, each Target Area Chairman and each public school in Detroit. Qualified persons became applicants when they

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Placement

As of April 1, 1968, approximate midway point of the initial phase of the job placement, the Project School assignments were:

School	Classroom Aide	Neighborhood Aide	Service Aide	Total
Junior High A	11	9	14	34
Senior High A	13	4	16	33
Elementary A	12	4	12	28
Junior High B	12	6	17	35
Junior High C	12	6	15	33
TOTALS	60	29	74	163*

Fifty-eight auxiliaries were reclassified effective April 29, 1968 as follows:

from	to	Total
Service Aide	Neighborhood Aide	16
Service Aide	Classroom Aide	36
Neighborhood Aide	Classroom Aide	6

* Two vacancies on April 1. Replacements were to have been made.

expressed their interest in the project as described in the announcements. All such applicants were interviewed by a Personnel Committee composed of school and community persons, all of whom had voting privileges.

The successful candidates (four men, two women) are all persons who possess maximum experience in dealing with disadvantaged persons, knowledge of the problems of inner cities, and sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of persons trained and served by this project. Although all members are certified teachers, their educational employment backgrounds represent a spectrum of experiences which include elementary and secondary education, special education of the mentally handicapped, academic and nonacademic subject matter and extensive involvement with adults. Noneducational employment is equally representative of service in both the public and private sectors as professional, skilled and semiskilled personnel.

The coaches are responsible to the principal of the school and to the director of the project. Their employment a week preceding the entry of the 165 enrollees and their entry into the schools with the auxiliary personnel are representative of the attempt to provide a structure which will function administratively yet allow the coach to be considered as the advocate of the auxiliary.

Advisory Committee. The directive for the creation of an Advisory Committee reads as follows:

"American public education is based upon a partnership between citizens and personnel. Throughout our history, both on the national and local stage, citizens have played a major part in the origin, development and support of public education. Citizens have been and still are the custodians of our American heritage.

"The Detroit Board of Education, the legal representative of the people, has expressed in a multitude of ways its adherence to the policy of counsel with the citizens of the City of Detroit to whom the schools belong in assuming its responsibility for decisions of policy designed to maintain and improve the quality of the educational institution.

"The Urban Area Employment Project affords a significant opportunity to strengthen this policy, emphasizing the basic goal of partnership in educational leadership, through the establishment of an Advisory Committee specially charged with the provision of sound advice to the school system in the development and implementation of auxiliary personnel into the educational process.

"This Advisory Committee shall be composed of eleven members representing: each of the four MCHRD target areas. (4); the coaching staff of UAEP, (1); the administrative staff of the schools in UAEP, (1); the teaching staff of the schools in UAEP, (1); the NESC, (1); the auxiliary training staff of UAEP-Bank Street, (1); the trainees in UAEP (2).

"Personnel Practices Subcommittee shall be formed by the Advisory Board of UAEP for purposes of assuring the best possible employer-employee relationship and of affording staff participation in the formulation and revision of established practices. This Subcommittee shall be composed of: one representative from each of the four MCHRD target areas; one coach from the UAEP; four teachers from UAEP; two UAEP trainees; the project director shall serve in an ex officio capacity."

In actual practice, these groups functioned on a monthly basis in formal fashion and sometimes daily in a less formal way. Representation of total groups, i.e., teachers, auxiliaries, administrators, is difficult to achieve on an equitable basis without increasing the membership of each committee. (There were opportunities at regularly scheduled meetings for project principals, project coaches, and to some degree, for school faculties to share their problems, ideas and experiences with delegates, but adequate representation from each classification and school placement of auxiliaries has not been achieved.) Because of the critical nature of these boards and the degree of commitment of the Detroit Public Schools to their meaningful function, efforts are being made to strengthen this representation and recommendations for future projects will include careful consideration of procedures which will ensure the opportunity for interaction of auxiliaries.

Evaluation and Conclusion. Although the UAEP has been in actual operation such a brief period, the design and utilization of instruments specially applicable to this project have already begun to indicate directions. As has been the purpose from the inception of the Program, the identification of the outcomes for indigenous auxiliaries, teachers, parents and pupils is under way and recommendations for projects of this nature throughout the country will be assured.

The report of the consultant-observer, which follows, represents the first phase of this evaluation and contains the author's views as to the implications of the Program thus far. The feedback from this report was valuable for programmatic modifications and improvements during the course of the Program.

REPORT OF CONSULTANT-OBSERVER

Report by
Lawrence T. Alexander

INTRODUCTION

The previous sections of this chapter have consisted of a descriptive overview of the Detroit UAEP. This section contains a summary of the observations of the consultant-observer. These observations are based primarily upon data collected in interviews conducted after the Program had been in operation for three weeks. We expect that these observations will be maximally useful to programs in other comparably large cities. The conditions in rural or suburban school districts may be sufficiently different that the generalizations presented in this report may apply only partially.

The initiation of the UAEP had been delayed for approximately three months because of a policy disagreement between the Detroit Board of Education and the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development which had responsibility for general supervision of the program. When the program was finally begun, the prevailing attitude of the school personnel towards it was somewhat negative.

Most staff personnel viewed the imminent "invasion" of large numbers of aides with some degree of apprehension. Although a considerable amount of thought and effort was devoted to describing and explaining the program few people really understood its major purposes. Many perceived the program as being imposed upon them. Some teachers were anxious about having another adult in the classroom where previously the "closed door" had protected them from outside scrutiny. Generally negative attitudes existed toward the "unemployable" people who, they thought, would overrun the school and undermine its efficiency.

The school administrative personnel were apprehensive about the additional work load that 34 adults in the school would impose upon them and were uncertain of their capability to handle the job. In the background there was the general feeling of defensiveness toward people who, they believed, represented a community which was in social ferment bordering on revolt.

The aides were also fearful of what lay ahead. They viewed the school as a symbol of the establishment; a symbol of previous failure. They had had no success in the world of work, knew that their own skills were inadequate, and lacked confidence in their own capabilities.

In spite of these negative attitudes, the program has had a considerable degree of success.

The substance of this report is a description of how the problems generated by the above attitudes and feelings were approached and the variety of ways in which they were solved. The data presented were obtained by personal observation and in interviews with the program director, the principals of two of the junior high schools, the coaches of the aides, and the teachers of one of the junior high schools. Each interview was begun with the following statement of purpose: "It is likely that auxiliary programs such as the one in this school will be introduced in school districts all over the country. We would like to use the experience you have gained to provide guidance for the people who will plan and operate similar programs in the future."

Because the report was written at a time barely four weeks after the beginning of the program, there has been little opportunity to assess the long-range impact. However, many of the developments which occurred within this initial phase permit speculation as to the course of the program in the future. These speculations were included in the body of the report.

Three aspects of the program are discussed: the orientation of school personnel; the introduction and early stages of the program; and the selection and training of the aides. Since three of the five schools were junior high schools and one was a senior high school, there was opportunity to observe and consider those aspects of the program which are particularly relevant to secondary schools.

On the basis of observations made and interview data collected, the following general conclusions seem to be indicated:

1. The school principal is the key figure in the introduction, acceptance, and effective operation of the program. Considerable attention should be paid to developing in the principal a positive attitude toward the program before it is introduced, by providing extensive information about how similar programs were conducted in other schools and guidelines concerning all aspects of program administration.
2. In those schools where large numbers of auxiliary personnel are assigned, the efficiency of the program can be augmented by the assignment of a program administrator as a permanent member of the administrative staff of the school.
3. The most effective means for initiating an aide program in a school and gaining acceptance and creative involvement by the school staff is by demonstration, not exhortation. This means that in institutionalizing the program rules and procedures should be developed

which demonstrate to the staff and to the aides themselves what and how they can contribute to the school.

PROGRAM ORIENTATION

Prior to the time when the auxiliary personnel actually report for work in the schools, a considerable amount of planning and other activities must take place. These may be divided for convenience into three categories: recruitment, screening, testing, and selection of trainees; design and implementation of the training program; and orientation and indoctrination of school staff personnel.

In future programs it is expected that guidelines will be provided for carrying out these activities. In the Detroit Project, it was necessary for the project director to improvise as she went along, making on-the-spot decisions as unforeseen problems arose. The success of the program is due to a very great extent to the administrative capabilities of Mrs. Aileen Selick, the director. In future programs a director should be appointed who, like Mrs. Selick, is convinced of the desirability of an aide program, who has had experience in directing special programs in the schools, and who has had training and experience as a school principal.

In this section, the activities which preceded the introduction of the program in the schools will be described sequentially. These will include the decisions leading to the selection of schools, the administrative planning meetings, and the staff-orientation meetings held at each school.

Selection of School and Recruitment of Principals. Very early in the planning stage of the program a decision had to be made concerning the number of schools that would be included. At one of the planning meetings the superintendent of schools and the project director decided to restrict the number of schools to five and to saturate each with approximately thirty to thirty-five aides. This decision was based upon the recognition that in future large city programs there would be a great many unemployed people who could be potential candidates. Since the UAEP was a demonstration project, they felt that it should be used to gain experience with a saturation program and to uncover the problems involved in incorporating large numbers of aides in the schools.

It was recognized that the introduction of a new program involving so many adults might place too great an additional burden on the already overloaded school administrative staff. Therefore, it was decided to hire a professional person, called a coach, to train the aides and assist in administering the program in each of the schools. The coach was conceived of as a person serving on the principal's staff in intimate contact with all aspects of the program. In this position the coach was to integrate the efforts of the aides and school staff toward increasing the educational impact of the program and provide support, counsel, and career guidance for the aides.

Judging on the basis of brief experience with the program so far, it can be concluded that a large number of aides can successfully be integrated into a school at any level. Whether or not a coach is needed in a school depends to a large extent on the number of aides assigned and whether or not a member of the school staff is available to perform the necessary functions. The departmental structure of junior and senior high school permits greater dispersal of the administrative tasks associated with the program.

A restricted area within the city, the UAEP target area, had been defined and each of the schools in that area was considered. The schools were selected by mutual agreement between the superintendent of schools and the program director. The criteria for selection were as follows:

1. The experience and administrative skill of the principal and, most importantly, the principal's previously demonstrated capability for adaptation and flexibility.
2. The degree of deterioration in relationships between the school and its surrounding community; it was hoped that successful operation of the program might "bail the principal out of his current problems."
3. The size and type of school; it was decided to include schools at three levels, with a wide range in size.
4. A high probability that the principal would not transfer in the immediate future, thus providing necessary administrative continuity to the program.
5. The five schools were to be within the same region, supervised by a single regional superintendent. It was expected that this arrangement would facilitate communication among the principals and the project director. Also, the physical proximity of the schools would reduce the amount of travel required.

The district superintendent was then included in the program planning activity. In future programs this should be done at an early stage. If the district superintendent is provided information about how aide programs have operated in the past and becomes convinced of their value, he can be quite instrumental in recruiting the support of the principals in his district. Also, since the district superintendent should be aware of any community-school relation problems in his district, he should know where introducing the program would be of most benefit. This should be considered in connection with the current trend toward decentralization of school board authority.

The district superintendent contacted the principals selected and arranged a meeting with the program director, at which the overall program was described. A further meeting was scheduled for detailed planning at which representatives from the staffs of each of the schools were to be present.

The School Staff Planning Meeting. It is quite important that at all meetings with school personnel the director be prepared to discuss in exhaustive detail all aspects of the program and be prepared to answer a wide variety of questions. Indeed, he should be prepared to answer the same questions many times. We discovered that after several such meetings and after an intensive workshop-meeting at each of the schools, there was still a large amount of misunderstanding concerning the objectives of the Program and how it would be introduced and implemented.

In the Planning Meeting the project director and five coaches met with 10 to 15 representatives from each of the five schools. The school participants included the principal, department heads, lunchroom manager, custodian, school counselor, school-community agent and some senior teachers. Each participant was provided with a written document describing the program. The director discussed the program in detail and then answered questions.

The topics of questions asked indicated those aspects of the program that were of immediate concern to the school staffs:

1. Additional administrative responsibility.
2. Apprehension that the administrative staff was not trained to administer such a program.
3. Apprehension about the aides; the stereotype of the lazy, shiftless, degenerate, unemployable persisted until the school staff actually met the auxiliary personnel. One principal asked whether he was going to get all the winos from the neighborhood.
4. Concern over the background and experience of the coach, his role and functions, his position on the staff, and whether the principal would be consulted in his selection and appointment.
5. Concern over the disposition of voluntary aides who were presently in the school, working on a gratuitous basis.
6. Concern over the longevity of the program. The staff anticipated having to put a considerable amount of effort into making the program work and suspected that its introduction would have a lasting impact on the organization and procedures of the schools. They did not want the program to be dropped for lack of funds after this occurred.

Afterwards, the participants from each of the schools met separately with the coach assigned to that school to discuss the program in more detail and to identify problems unique to each school. This was the first opportunity for the coach and the staff to meet.

All participants agreed, at the conclusion of the meeting, and subsequently in interviews, that meetings of this kind, providing as they do an opportunity to explore possible areas of difficulty and to begin planning, are exceedingly important in the effective introduction of the program. The project director, anticipating this, had set aside money in the budget for this and subsequent workshop-meetings at each of the schools.

Meeting of Principals and Coaches. The principal is the first person in the school to come into contact with the program. Therefore, positive steps were taken to induce in him a favorable attitude toward the program since this will inevitably be communicated to the school staff. These consisted of a meeting with the coaches and a visit with the aides in training.

The meeting between the principals and the coaches was for the purpose of planning the initial stages, for discussing the prospective role and functions of the coach, and for establishing modes of interaction. (Although the subsequent assignment of coaches to schools was made primarily on the basis of experience—i.e., those who had experience in senior high schools were assigned to high schools—some effort was made to match the personality of the coach and the principal. It was felt that the discussions among the principals and coaches during their meeting was instrumental in producing satisfaction with assignment made.) Two of the principals initiated calls to the program director thanking her for having been assigned "the best coach."

The principals met the aides for the first time when they attended a Christmas party organized by the aides. The principals were impressed with the administrative skill evidenced and with the creative talent displayed in the decorations and entertainment. After that visit, when describing the program to outsiders, the principals continually referred to the high quality of the aides.

It was found that an effective way to dispel negative attitudes based upon misconceptions and lack of information was to arrange for the various groups to have direct contact with each other early in the program. The attitudes of the school staff toward the aides also underwent a change in a positive direction as a result of direct contact established when the aides visited the schools as part of their training program and participated in workshops with the staff personnel. This point will be discussed further with regard to training the aides.

Staff Workshop-Meetings. These meeting were held at each of the schools with the entire staff participating. The principal described the program and, in most cases, expressed his own approval of its objectives. He outlined specific areas in which the aides could be of assistance and contribute to the educational effectiveness of the school. Most principals stressed those areas that were recognized by the staff as being particularly troublesome, for example, teacher overload and discipline in the halls.

Questions were then invited. Since at that time the entire staff had not had the opportunity to study the program nor to think about its implication, the kinds of questions asked were indicative of their attitudes and concerns. Representative questions were:

1. Must a teacher take an aide if she doesn't want one?
2. What if the teacher doesn't like an aide, does she have to keep her?
3. What are the teacher's legal responsibilities with respect to the aides, especially as regards injury and care with the pupils?
4. Will the aides eat with the staff and will they use the teachers' lounge?
5. What kinds of tasks can a teacher ask the aide to do?

6. What will happen to volunteer aides already in the building?
7. How many hours will the aide work?
8. What salary will they get and will they receive fringe benefits?
9. What shall we do with a teacher who absolutely refuses to have an aide; how can we show her the advantages?
10. To what extent can the aides use corporal punishment in disciplining children?
11. Can an aide be in charge of a class when the teacher is absent?
12. How should an aide respond when a student threatens her?
13. How should an aide respond when a student violates school rules?

Although the primary function of these meetings was to begin planning for the initial phase of the program, it was important, also, to allow an opportunity for catharsis. When encouraged to do so by the administrative staff, many of the teachers voiced publicly their fears, apprehension, and attitudes toward the aides and the program. (At this time none of the staff had met the aides.) Many of the teachers said frankly that they felt threatened at the prospect of another adult coming into a classroom.

The mere opportunity to speak out seemed to have a desirable effect especially when it was pointed out that no staff member would be required to take an aide if she did not want one, that many of the disciplinary problems that were plaguing the school might be alleviated by aides, and that community-school relationships might be improved.

Although the opportunity was provided for the staff to voice questions and the apprehensions they felt, it is obvious from subsequent discussions with coaches, principals, and teachers, that many doubts still persisted. After three weeks of program operation, teachers in various schools were still asking:

"Does this Program exist for the benefit of the aides or for the benefit of the school?"

One teacher said: "The thing that upset me was the presentation. I feel that they attempted to psych us [sic] into thinking that this was going to be a program where the people were coming to help us. I think we are all professional enough to realize that we will in many cases help them, and it upset me for them not to present the program in this light. I don't mind training them, but who do they think they are trying to fool?"

The coaches suggested that one method of counteracting this attitude was for the coaches to talk to each of the teachers after the program had been inaugurated and point out specific instances in their school and other schools where the aides have been utilized in a meaningful fashion contributing both to the educational effectiveness of the school and to their own career development.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE PROGRAM

The first four weeks of the program were a period of shakedown and of trial and error. During this period the plans developed during the workshop-meetings were tested and revised in the light of experience.

The coaches played a significant role in performing the many functions involved in the program's introduction and his unique position in the school should be understood. The coach was a member of the principal's staff, but his staff duties were different from all the others. No other department head was responsible for so many adults (35). These adults worked a long day (8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.), 12 months of the year. The coach was not expected to assume the usual faculty responsibilities for hall duty or assignments as substitutes in classes.

When the program was introduced, four problems assumed immediate importance: the allocation and assignment of aides; the indoctrination and education of the school staff; the career guidance of the aides; and the work involved in administering the program. How these problems were approached in the Detroit Project will be described in this chapter. The coaches were involved in all of them. In future programs someone will have to perform the functions they did and serious consideration should be given to the question of whether or not to hire coaches.

Allocation and Assignment of Aides. In every school, aides were assigned to individual staff members on a strictly voluntary basis. In some schools, initially, there were not many volunteers. The problem of what to do with the unassigned aides was solved very simply: they were assigned to maintaining discipline in the halls, the lavatories, and the lunchroom.

All of the schools, and especially the junior high schools, were plagued by a hall discipline problem and the principals attempted to solve it by a mass assignment of aides. In some cases this was in conflict with the aspirations of aides who had expected to be assigned as classroom and neighborhood aides. However, the hall duty assignment had several unforeseen benefits. First, it put the aides in a position to meet the pupils, to become acquainted with them on a first name basis, and to learn how to deal with them. This was good experience for the aides. Second, their presence substantially reduced the severity of the discipline problem. As a result, they received recognition and acceptance by the pupils and the staff, who now began to view the program more positively. Third, the staff felt less pressure to accept aides.

It appeared to be very important in the first week or two for teachers to be assigned hall duty together with the aides so that, by association, the authority status of the aides was enhanced.

Within two weeks it was discovered that large numbers of aides were not needed to maintain discipline and, as staff members began to request their services, the number of aides assigned to hall duty was reduced to a minimum. Thereafter, only those aides who requested hall duty as a sole assignment were so placed.

There is a danger in assigning an aide to hall duty exclusively, since this reinforces his image as a policeman and restricts the variety of his experience.

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After the program had been in operation for two weeks, the aides were asked to write their reactions to hall duty. The following were obtained from one of the junior high schools:

"The hall duty job is fine from the beginning of school until 10:45 to 1:00. During these hours I need some help, because I can't watch the boy's and girl's restrooms and keep the ones on lunch hour from breaking the line to use the lavatory. The halls seem to get better each day, because I think the students are beginning to realize we are here to stay."

"I rotate in the hall, when the children get belligerent and say things like 'You can't make me do nothing,' I merely tell them that I am not here to make them do anything, just to help them if they let me. While I am in the lunchroom from eleven to one the first couple of days it was sort of ruff. But now the students, I should say some of them accept me. Some has given me nick-names (Sarge) or (Lieut). We laugh it off. But they also no that I will not play with them, for they now realize that I do mean what I say. Now some just don't care, they won't do anything they are told, that's when I call Mr. Davis over, and he takes care of them. I believe once they get use to the idea they will be better."

"I had the children pick up all paper when they drop it out of their locker and they did it very nice and stopped running in the hall. The teacher say they have better class the children is not in the hall and at the door. So it is better for them too."

"My job consist of hall duty and classroom work. I feel that my being on hall duty especially during the morning has cut down on some of the noise, and relieved a teacher from this job. I have a small group of slow-readers that I supervise in the afternoon. With continued guidance, I believe some progress can be made. I have also corrected test papers."

"Hall duty is a very good job I enjoy my work very much. Some of the meanful things I have done, cut out smoking in Bathroom, stop fights in the hall, checking passes. I'm very proud of the job we are doing."

"Had personal talks with problem children. I got to know how some of them felt toward home, school, teachers and aides."

In one of the junior high schools, where both the principal and the assistant principal had been newly-appointed, another method of assigning aides was used. The assistant principal was assigned to work with the coach to develop the program. They reviewed the stated assignment preference and background of each aide and then decided on a first tentative assignment. In the early stages of the program there was considerable shifting of aides from place to place with specific intention of determining where each could be used with maximum efficiency, and of establishing compatible pairs of aides and teachers.

In that school the counselors were the first staff members to request aides. Each counselor was given a group of four or five aides to train. Thus, a pool of aides was maintained which was gradually depleted as more and more teachers requested their services.

The idea of developing a pool of aides which can be tapped to fill the requests of the teachers, seems to be a good one when a large number of aides are assigned to a school. As was indicated previously, one school created such a pool by assigning aides to hall duty. The assignment of aides to counselors is another method. There are several advantages in establishing a pool: 1) the school staff does not feel inundated; 2) problems that are recognized as being relevant to the school as a whole can be tackled; 3) the policy of voluntary participation gains credibility by demonstration; and 4) control can be exercised over the allocation of a scarce resource.

In the high school, another assignment method was employed. Department heads were requested to submit a plan indicating how they intended to use the aides and descriptions of specific jobs. The job descriptions were then submitted to the coach. On the basis of the information he had about the aides, the coach assigned them to the various departments. In this high school, there was a large amount of typing and other clerical work to do in each department and it was efficient to have a group of clerical aides work with a department continuously.

In junior and senior high schools, which have a departmental structure, it is possible to assign a group of aides to each department or to assign aides individually to teachers. The size of the school seems to be the determining factor. The larger the school, the more administrative responsibility is delegated to the department. In this case, it is more efficient to assign aides to departments in order to be able to supervise them adequately. In larger schools it is more difficult for the coach to become familiar with the operations of all departments, since each has a different organizational structure and different teaching problems.

Staff Indoctrination. When the program was first introduced, one of the most important functions performed by the coaches was to inform the staff of the possible ways aides could be used. For this function the coach had to familiarize himself with the operation of the school and with the particular requirements of each staff member.

The coach met with all members of the staff repeatedly, listening carefully to their problems. Most of the coaches attempted to involve the staff members in planning sessions in order to combat the feeling that the program was being imposed on them. Staff members were continually assured that if anyone was assigned an aide with whom he could not function well, the aide would be reassigned.

In each school, a small cadre of teachers volunteered to accept aides. In each case the teacher and the aide were able to develop efficient ways of working together. One coach quoted a teacher with ten years of experience as saying:

"This is the first time since I have been in a school that I was able to get in 45 minutes of actual teaching time."

When news of the advantage of having aides was communicated about the school, other teachers "took the plunge." In all the schools, after the second week, there were more requests for aides than could be filled and a quota system had to be adopted.

In all the schools, aides were assigned to staff members who requested them. In the high school aides were assigned by the department head; in the other schools, by the coach. As more requests were made, some aides were assigned to two teachers; but never more than two. The coaches have been unanimously against "fractionating" the experience and efforts of the aides.

The policy and procedures that are developed in the future for allocating and reallocating aides, may well prove to be one of the most important determiners of the successful institutionalization of the program. Since no one expected an "economy of scarcity," i.e., more staff member requests for aides than there were aides available, there was too little thought and planning devoted to this possible problem. The coaches and school administrators have tended to do nothing or adopt a "wait-and-see" attitude.

At the time of the writing of this report the first evaluation period is approaching and it is quite probable that reassignments will be made if there is any demonstrated incompatibility between staff member and aide or error in under or overestimating the capabilities of an aide.

In one school, the coach has asked those teachers who have requested aides and are waiting for them to be assigned, whether they would accept a service aide and assist in training her. It is interesting to note that five of nine men teachers agreed but only two of six women teachers agreed. There was no report on the subject matter each of these people teaches—this might have some bearing on their decisions.

The coaches were asked what criteria they thought they would use for reassigning aides. They suggested the following:

1. The aide's preference. However, there is a tendency for aides to resist reassignment because of the uncertainty involved in learning to work with a new teacher. The coaches have counseled the aides and have gained acceptance of the idea that a variety of experiences is beneficial.
2. Planned variety of experiences, including variety of subject matter and teacher style. However, there have already been instances in which an aide has become confused by the widely differing styles of two teachers to whom she has been assigned, e.g., authoritative and permissive class procedures, and has tended to draw invidious comparisons. It is suggested that, in the early stages of training, an aide be assigned to teachers who have similar styles and that she experience different styles over a two or three-year cycle.
3. Compatibility between staff member and aide. This factor will probably require subjective judgment based on continuous surveillance of each pair. Data regarding statements of the degree of mutual satisfaction and evidence of willingness to expand the role of the aide should also be considered.

4. Vocational goals of each aide as a guide to select experiences.
5. Recognition of the capability limitations of an aide, precluding assignments which are too difficult.

The Aide Program in Junior and Senior High Schools. Detroit is one of the few cities in which an aide program has included either junior or senior high schools. Therefore, particular attention was paid to the problems involved in introducing the program into these schools. Some of these problems have been mentioned. They are summarized in this section.

The junior high school, and to a somewhat lesser extent, the senior high school, presented the most difficult disciplinary problems. The pupils engaged in a great amount of acting out behavior. The aides were specifically warned to expect this during their training period and were advised never to touch the pupils and generally to ignore most behavior of this kind. This strategy was criticized by some of the teachers. In those schools where it was tried, some teachers expressed the opinion that the aides were being terrorized by the pupils or that they did not know how to handle them. After a testing period of about two weeks, aides' capabilities were acknowledged.

In general, one might expect that a longer training time might be required before an aide could assist a high school teacher because of the relatively higher level of the subject matter. In the Detroit Program, since most of the students were performing below grade level, many more aides than had been expected were able to function effectively in the classroom.

In the high school, where the aides were assigned to the individual departments they were tutored by the teachers before they entered the classroom. Classes were conducted in French, science, and shorthand.

It is especially important to have male aides in junior and senior high schools to act as role models. In discussing this problem, one teacher said:

"Please, let them be masculine men; masculine in appearance, in voice and behavior, because it has a terrible effect on the junior high school boys, who are shaky in their roles as it is, to have some man call them in a high pitched voice. You hear them say, 'Bull, I don't want a sissy calling me.' The man can be perfectly all right, but to the children, if a man is not outwardly masculine, it doesn't matter what he can do."

Administrative Functions Performed by the Coaches. The introduction of a large number of aides into a school adds to the load of the already overloaded administrative staff. The functions enumerated below were performed by each of the coaches in the five schools:

1. Keeping payroll, hospitalization, and attendance records.
2. Maintaining relations with social and welfare agencies.
3. Serving as a focal point for transmitting information between the aides and the school administration and staff.
4. Acting as a repository for staff requests for aides.
5. Monitoring the performance of aides and adjudicating complaints.

6. Guiding the career development of the aides. This involved scheduling a variety of tasks and being available for consultations.

Career Guidance. As part of their career guidance function, the coaches were able to organize several special classes in the school, some taught for the aides and some taught by the aides. To assist the coaches in setting up these courses, the director made available the personnel and equipment resources of the Detroit Board of Education and an adequate budget.

The following courses have already been organized for the aides: typing, shorthand, reading, English grammar, printing, and operation of office machines. The aides themselves have organized classes in sewing, cooking, modern dance, and a charm school. Some of the latter courses are given to other aides and some to the students after regular classes.

How the Aides were Utilized. The specific utilization of aides depended upon many factors: the size and grade level of the school; the administrative policies and practices in the school; and, most importantly, the individual characteristics of the aides and the staff members. The following examples of how aides were utilized in working ,with various staff members were taken from interviews.

Classroom Aides. "She helps me in small discipline problems. For example, if we have a test, she can monitor the children and prevent them from peeking at each other's papers."

"My aide had some experience with SRA materials (Science Research Associates) during her training period. She works with the study skills classes and gives children individual instructions on how to keep records. She helps me by going around from child to child and giving them the instructions they need."

"My aide corrects grades, puts scores in the book and works with the reading groups; she works with individual groups doing plays. If there are five groups in the class working on a play, she works with one group and I work with one group and we move around the room that way. She gives individual instruction to students who don't have any incentive. Boys who want to cut up and girls who are slow, she works with them individually. She types and runs dittos and she does bulletin boards. She makes out seating charts, calls down (to the Board of Education) to make arrangements for trips; she makes out the trip itinerary and plans where we will have lunch; she talks to all the people we will see and she plans the entire trip. She calls parents of students who have made trouble in class. She doesn't handle any of the discipline problems; I do all that. She checks the film catalogs and writes down all the films that we might be able to use. Then she fills out the order form for the films. Last week she conducted a spelling bee. I think her biggest help is working with students who are slow; they identify more with her because she can take time and talk to them. Some of the kids get on my nerves; she can sit down and talk

TABLE XI

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS ON "TEACHER'S EVALUATION OF AUXILIARY AIDE" FORM

(Three Weeks After Arrival of Auxiliaries in School)

A. Assignment of Aides	Frequency
Homeroom	9
Reading	6
Spelling	5
English	2
Handwriting	4
Social Studies	4
Mathematics	1
Art	1
Auditorium	2
Library	2

B. Rating of Aides' Performance

Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
	2	7	7

C. Tasks Performed by Aides — **Relative Frequency (25%)**

Instructional Support

- Helps with group reading
- Works individually with slow groups
- Drills on number facts and combinations
- Helps with oral reading and word drill
- Helps individual children with reading, social studies, spelling, and handwriting
- Helps with art projects
- Checks papers
- Reads to pupils

Routine Tasks — **Relative Frequency (66%)**

- Takes attendance
- Prepares bulletin boards
- Cleans boards
- Puts assignments on board
- Fixes (rebinds) paperback books
- Files papers
- Helps with school records
- Makes word cards
- Helps check books from bindery and new books
- Runs off mimeographs for social studies
- Helps clean and rearrange materials in closet for new file cabinet; puts on labels
- Files cards for books in card catalog
- Assists with class demonstrations
- Checks colors for ribbon books and paints them on
- Prepares visual aids for reading
- Phones in orders to visual aid lending department
- Assumes responsibility for receiving and returning visual aids
- Records grades
- Does some typing
- Collects milk and lunch money
- Mounts pictures
- Keeps pencils sharpened
- Organizes cupboard
- Delivers and collects audiovisual equipment
- Distributes and collects materials used by pupils
- Cleans up tables
- Keeps materials in order
- Mixes paint and cares for art materials

Escorting and Supervisory **Relative Frequency (9%)**

Takes group to washroom
Escorts children to next class
Assists children in cleanup time
Assists in organization and entrance of children in and out of room

D. Ways in Which Auxiliaries Seem to have been Most Helpful

Instructional Support **Relative Frequency (46%)**

Helps with slower children
Helps with oral reading and word drill
Does substitute teaching in teacher's absence
Reads orally with slow readers
Drills on vocabulary words
Works with small groups in developing reading and spelling skills
Corrects work books
Gives directions
Gives encouragement
Checks pupils' work

Routine Tasks **Relative Frequency (51%)**

Keeps room neat
Prepares demonstration charts
Prepares bulletin boards
Sorts mimeographed materials
Writes out word cards
Does typing and filing
Organizes cupboards
Mounts pictures for picture file
Assists in setting up and operating equipment
Organizes milk program
Helps prepare materials
Cleans out supply room
Organizes materials and cabinets for art supplies

Escorting and Supervisory **Relative Frequency (3%)**

Escorts pupils to next class

to them and work with them and help them while I go around helping the rest of the class; she really helps the slow kids."

I asked how she had developed these procedures and she said:

"We both contributed. When she first came into the room, I showed her all of the materials and then I made a list of things I thought I would like her to do. She was very cooperative, very good, she grasped everything immediately. Now, I don't have to do a lot of planning; she is as flexible as I am, she can go along with me, plus giving me suggestions. If we are working on a particular story she helps me with my organization. The kids accept her as they accept me; when I first introduced her I told the class that she was my assistant, that she was here to help them, and that they were to respect her."

A primary school teacher said the following:

"We use our aides primarily for tutoring our nonreaders in spelling and reading. They do a number of things too: they operate the audiovisual equipment and escort the children to and from the lavatories. My aide is very good at tutoring. Of course, I had to tell her what to do, but this didn't bother me at all because beginning reading is very important."

When asked how the aide had acquired this skill, the teacher replied:

"I showed her. I showed her how to put work on the board and how to teach the children to pronounce the words. She goes through the "B's" one day, and the "C's" the next day. Then she erases the board and calls these words out and the youngsters say them back to her."

A language teacher said the following:

"I would love to have an aide with a Latin background. There must be many aides with Latin backgrounds who could teach students the correct way to pronounce sounds in Spanish. My aide runs the Language Laboratory. You would be surprised how much time it takes to turn off the equipment, turn it on, check the headsets, etc. If the aides acquired these skills, they could specialize and then be channeled into language classrooms. No one can teach a child Spanish sounds like a native born teacher. This is an invaluable asset."

Another primary school teacher said:

"I use my aide to teach handwriting. We do a lot of manuscript printing in the first grade and she puts the material on the board for the little children. She works with them individually."

Another teacher said:

"I am a young teacher, so I thought I would have a problem with an aide who was an older woman. But it turned out fine. I don't ever tell her to do anything; I show her how to do it; I ask for any suggestions, give her an opportunity to object, and, if she does it wrong, I correct her as discreetly as possible. For example, I had a problem in correcting papers at first. I mean, how do you show someone else how you want your papers corrected. I let her correct papers and then I looked at them later. I found that she grades a little bit higher than I do but I let it go because I found that it had a positive effect on the kids. The ones who are getting A's and B's are really happy about it. She says to them, 'Now you have been getting really good grades and you don't want to spoil it today do you?' "

The only male aide in one of the junior high schools was assigned to the gym department. His duties were to help set up the equipment and put it away. The gym teachers said that his being there was the same as having another teacher. In addition, however, the aide initiated his own project—a very artistic and informative bulletin board, which was favorably received and praised highly by both the teachers and the students. When the gym teaching staff was asked to release part of the aide's time for other duties, they objected violently.

Arrangements were made to collect from all schools in the UAEP a list of tasks performed by aides from each staff member who had worked with an aide. Only lists from teachers in the elementary schools had been received at the time this report was written. (Table XI)

Arrangements were also made for the coaches to observe junior high school teachers with the use of the Openshaw Classroom Interaction instrument. Because of the press of their activities, only two observations were made. These are summarized in Tables XII and XIII.

Counselor Aides. A counselor in a junior high said:

"My aide does everything but counsel. She answers the phone, checks the attendance, types, chases children, and babysits. She has been able to take so much of the work off my shoulders that I have time to sit and talk to children and counsel. I find I can leave the office with her in charge of the children and know that everything won't fall apart."

Another counselor said:

"I was overloaded with clerical work. My aide keeps all my files in order and does a lot of typing. This releases me to do much needed professional work in the community."

Neighborhood Aides. The functions of the neighborhood aides developed much more slowly than the others. This was because they were more ambiguously defined and, more than any other category, depended upon the relationship between the school and the community. They were also affected by the degree of social unrest in the city.

During the initial stages of the program emphasis was placed on the aides "getting a foot in the door" by attending community functions and joining organizations like the PTA, and adult education programs.

Techniques were developed to enable the aide to establish contact with parents. For example, taking a sick child home was an excellent method. In such cases, the aides were instructed to make a subsequent appointment for the aide and the coach to return to discuss school activities. Progress was slow because a huge reservoir of suspicion toward some of the schools had been built up.

SELECTION AND TRAINING OF AIDES

This portion of the report, dealing with the selection and training of aides, has been placed last in order that the reader may evaluate the comments and suggestions made in the context of the program as it functioned in the first three weeks.

Selection. In an earlier section of this report, the director described the characteristics of the aides and the procedures for selecting them. It is assumed they are representative of the people potentially available for future programs.

In my opinion, the unforeseen and quite phenomenal success achieved by the aides during the short time the program had been in existence, suggests that in the future, selection criteria may be quite low in terms of previous schooling and work experience. Few criteria were applied in Detroit beyond those assuring that no aide was accepted who had a communicable disease or had been convicted of crimes against

TABLE XII

School: Spain Junior High School Subject: Social Studies-English Date: 3/8/68

	Teacher						Auxiliary Person					
	Class		Group		Indiv.		Class		Group		Indiv.	
Activity	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%
Instruction	2	6.7	1	3.3	2	6.7					3	10
Monitoring	14	47	2	6.7					3	10	1	3.3
Informal activity				0						0		
Supervision	7	23							7	23		
Reprimanding											1	3.3
"Doing for"											1	3.3
Clerical work							8	26.7				
Manipulation of things							3	10	1	3.3		
Interaction: Teacher and auxiliary			2	6.7							2	6.7
Inactivity				0								0

TABLE XIII

School: Knudsen Junior High School Subject: Social Studies-English Date: 3/8/68

	Teacher						Auxiliary Person					
	Class		Group		Indiv.		Class		Group		Indiv.	
Activity	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%
Instruction	14	47										
Monitoring	4	13			2	6.7						
Informal activity			1	3.3	2	6.7					2	6.7
Supervision	3	10							22	73.3	2	6.7
Reprimanding					1	3.3					1	3.3
"Doing for"					1	3.3						
Clerical work				0						0		
Manipulation of things	2	6.7						3.3	2	6.7		
Interaction: Teacher and auxiliary				0						0		
Inactivity				0						0		

persons. (One person with a record of conviction for a crime not against a person was hired and proved successful.) An important corollary to this viewpoint, however, is that procedures for careful observation and monitoring of aides' performance must be set up and maintained during the first few months of the program to insure that those who have been misplaced can be detected and reassigned.

In commenting on the success of his contingent of aides, one principal vigorously objected to the group being labeled "hard-core unemployables." The principal asserted that this label was a misnomer and pointed to the fact that most of his aides had demonstrated skills which proved to be extremely valuable in the school. He pointed to the fact that the attendance and promptness record of the aides was extremely high; better even than his staff. These sentiments were expressed also by other principals, school staff members, the program director, and the coaches.

Training Program Objectives. The objectives of the training program needed to be specified more precisely and related to task descriptions of the jobs the aides would be doing in the specific target schools. As these jobs change over time, the changes should be reflected in task descriptions and training objectives.

The experience gained in this and other demonstration projects should be used to provide sample task descriptions as guides to assist in the design of future training programs. **However, it should be emphasized that each school should develop its own task descriptions to meet its own particular requirements,** and each teacher should apply these task descriptions to the particular aide and the needs of his pupils.

Length and Composition of the Training Program. The training program has had two major objectives: to teach skills that will be useful in the school and in the world of work, and to teach how to be responsible members of a working force.

When the aides first arrived for training, their most characteristic reactions were fear and an intense feeling of inadequacy and inferiority. The training program must be of sufficiently long duration to remove these feelings and to substitute feelings of self-pride and self-confidence. As one coach put it:

"You are taking people off the streets; people who have had failure, failure, failure; and most of this was failure in the schools."

The implication is that in the early stages of training there should be emphasis on teaching easily learned skills so as to give the aides as many success experiences as possible. These should be practical work skills which are usable in the schools. It was contended that the success of the present program was largely due to the fact that when the aides acquired these skills they became convinced that they were not "unemployable."

It was generally agreed that, whereas a full ten weeks is required to orient the aides to the world of work and develop their self-confidence, the requisite knowledge and the skills could probably have been acquired in half that time.

Some of the coaches were in favor of reducing the length of the training period.

An opposing point of view was expressed as follows:

"A full ten weeks is needed not only to teach content skills and information but to teach work habits; and for this, ten weeks is insufficient. In the early days there was a lot of absenteeism and tardiness. They were used to getting things for nothing. It is necessary to change the habits of a lifetime."

It was reported by the coaches that at the end of the training period the aides thought that they knew considerably more about schools and their operation, about teaching children and disciplining them, than was borne out by their on-the-job experience. After three weeks on the job, they had gone through a period of reevaluation of their capabilities and of the difficulty of the jobs they had undertaken. As one coach said:

"I think that by the end of the training period the aides were overconfident of their capabilities. When they got to the school situation they found they weren't as professional as they thought. Now they are having to reevaluate their own capabilities and see themselves in a proper perspective; now the things we told them about the requirements for added schooling has some meaning to them."

It was suggested that, in the future, the program should begin with two weeks devoted exclusively to orientation subjects. The remaining eight weeks should be organized so that in the morning the aides could continue their academic work and in the afternoon they could spend time in the schools getting on-the-job training.

Such a curriculum would have several advantages: 1) it would reduce the amount of unused time, a continuous problem; 2) it would permit feedback and interaction between their school experiences and their academic studies; 3) it would assist in developing more realistic attitudes regarding their roles in the school; 4) it would allow the aides to apply abstract principles to actual situations and even more important to apply abstract principles from analysis of experience; 5) it would provide an opportunity to revise the training program to conform to the requirements of the school; 6) it would facilitate the operation of aide-teacher workshops, which should begin as early as possible in the training period; and 7) it would facilitate realistic planning on the part of teachers and administrators in developing new and better ways of incorporating aides in the schools.

Curriculum. The following subjects were suggested as the core curriculum for the training period: English grammar; spelling; reading in current events; techniques of child management; how a teacher designs lesson plans; general orientation to school organization and administration; clerical procedures, such as filing, taking attendance, grading papers, etc.; a survey of the problems to be encountered in classrooms, in lunch room duty, hall guard duty, assembly duty, office work (based upon the job descriptions composed by the schools), and the teaching of techniques for performing these duties. It was maintained that these kinds of subjects would present a more realistic picture of the school and of what their initial function in the school was likely to be.

The aides themselves felt that more time should have been devoted to the teaching of the specific skills they were going to use in the school: handling the recalcitrant child, as well as filing, taking attendance, bulletin board making, typing and shorthand, and clerical skills used in an office.

IMPACT OF THE PROGRAM

The Detroit Program has been in operation for less than four weeks and it is too early to be able to identify any impact of the Program that is likely to have any permanence. Nevertheless, all the participants stated that the most obvious effect was the decrease in disciplinary problems in all parts of the school. They all were convinced that this would ultimately have a salutary effect on the educational process. As one teacher put it:

"Just keeping the kids out of the halls and in the classrooms ought to have some effect on their education."

This point of view is acceptable if combined with the evident fact that teachers have more time to teach in their classrooms, due to the assistance of the aides, and feel more relaxed because they have to spend less time paying attention to disciplinary problems. The effect of the latter situation was specifically mentioned by a number of principals. They said that the morale of the staff had never been higher.

In evaluating the effect of future aide programs, one should not expect immediate evidence of increased pupil achievement. Immediate effects in discipline can be obtained. However, scholastic gains can only occur after the aides are integrated into the school system and basic modifications in instructional techniques have been introduced and tried.

SUMMARY OF IMPLICATIONS

The Detroit UAEP showed that an unselected sample of 165 unemployed "inner-city" people can be successfully introduced into primary and secondary schools. These people, who were considered "unemployable," a label connotating inability to learn usable work skills, demonstrated the falsity of this stereotype and showed a high level of personal discipline and resourcefulness.

Observations of the Detroit Program convinced the author that an auxiliary aide program can contribute to raising the achievement level of pupils and can provide an adequate career ladder for the aides. However, in order to attain these objectives, financial support for a program should be planned in at least five-year modules. Such support guarantees the continuity and stability necessary to permit integration of aides into a school and allows orderly evolution of new procedures based on experience.

The Detroit Program demonstrated that a large number of aides, amounting in some schools to one-third the size of the regular staff, can be successfully integrated into ongoing school functions if adequate provision is made to handle the additional administrative duties and responsibilities of the program. In the Detroit Program this was accomplished by adding a coach to the principal's staff.

The procedure of assigning aides to staff members on a voluntary basis had many advantages which largely contributed to the successful introduction of the program: 1) it increased the probability that teachers who volunteer will be willing to develop techniques for effectively employing the aides in the educational process; 2) it insured that teachers having negative attitudes toward the program will not be assigned aides; 3) it provided a method of rapidly demonstrating the usefulness of aides.

Negative attitudes toward the program were modified by arranging for catharsis in staff meetings and opportunities for the aides and the school staff to meet and work together before the aides began working. These meetings were supported by specifically designated budgetary funds.

Special classes, workshops, and seminars for career development of the aides were successfully introduced due to provision of adequate budgetary support for equipment, personnel, and space.

VIII. AUXILIARY UTILIZATION IN EASTERN KENTUCKY— A CASE STUDY

George W. Denemark, Consultant-Observer
Milan B. Dady, Director

Report by
Milan B. Dady
George W. Denemark

The Morehead State University Teacher-Aide Program is a two-year training and demonstration project designed to prepare and assess the utilization of teacher-aides in eastern Kentucky. The project, funded under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity is one of many auxiliary school personnel programs that have been coordinated and evaluated in a larger study being conducted by the Bank Street College of Education, also under OEO auspices.

The material which follows describes: 1) the training session for a group of aides and teachers to whom aides were to be assigned; 2) the functioning of a sampling of the teacher-aides in three Kentucky counties; and 3) some general observations by the project staff and consultant regarding the utilization of auxiliary personnel in elementary school classrooms.

BACKGROUND OF THE AREA

Half a century ago, Appalachia was humming with industrial activity. Its communities were prosperous and growing; prospects for the future seemed bright. But there was a latent danger in this prosperity. Nearly everything revolved around a single industry—deep-shaft coal mining—with limited diversification in clay, timber, and agriculture.

In the 1930's, with the exploitation of larger and more profitable coal deposits in other areas of the country, Appalachia felt the first tremors of economic instability. Following World War II, the home heating market shifted rapidly to oil and gas. The deep-shaft mining industry collapsed, while operations of the area's railroad industry were substantially curtailed.

The blow to the area's economic activity was crippling–in some communities fatal. Entire towns disappeared completely. Others became ghost towns as residents struggled for a time to find employment, then gave up and moved away. Young people left the area in annual migrations.

With more fertile land in other areas providing increasing bountiful yields, farming in Appalachia became proportionately more futile.

In general, the counties and communities of eastern Kentucky have been characterized by chronic and persistent unemployment, low government expenditures for needed public services and facilities, inadequate school and health facilities, and a high outlay of federal and state funds for welfare, relief, and retirement. Family incomes are low, with a marked tendency to become lower. The counties of this area contain many of Kentucky's poorest roads. The value of commercial bank loans, the volume of wholesale and retail transactions, and the level of property tax valuations are the lowest in the state.

Moreover, the loss of employment opportunities in Appalachia has resulted in an emigration of the educated citizens of the area–the business, professional, and technical personnel whose knowledge, ability, and capacity for leadership are essential to the economic revitalization of the region. This erosion in the human sector has stripped the area's communities of those persons who could make development evaluations, plan regional facilities, and implement programs of economic growth.

It is clear that Appalachia as a whole and eastern Kentucky in particular, is in the midst of a critical economic and social crisis.

THE TRAINING SESSION

During the summer of 1967, fifteen classroom teachers and thirty-seven teacher-aide trainees participated in a six-week training session held on the campus of Morehead State University in Morehead, Kentucky. The session extended from June 21 to August 1 and included participants selected from four counties in eastern Kentucky: Pike, Breathitt, Fleming, and Johnson.

The training session was designed to prepare persons from low income families to assume teacher-aide positions in schools near their homes. Trainees underwent a thorough orientation focused on the duties and responsibilities of teacher-aides, the nature and needs of elementary age children, and the roles which teachers perform in our public elementary schools.

The training session activities included field trips, discussions, lectures, addresses, films, teaching demonstrations, and other school-community related functions and activities.

Formal classroom work was first arranged in two groups with teachers meeting as one unit and teacher-aide trainees meeting as the other. In the first weeks, however, there were several informal groupings, where all of the participants met together. When the practicum began, the teacher and teacher-aide trainee participants were integrated and again placed into two groups (each group comprised both aides and teachers). For the first two-hour block, one group was assigned to the University classroom and the other group was involved in the practicum at Rowan County. For the succeeding two-hour block, the groups were reversed. The experience of the summer seemed to support both types of grouping. Some kinds of objectives seemed to be directly focused on teacher-aides while others treated the roles of teachers in working with aides. It is clear, however, that adequate time for interaction between teachers and aide trainees was of central importance to the success of the program.

The practicum for the teacher-aide trainees was provided in the summer school program of the Morehead Elementary School, a part of Rowan county Kentucky School System. Funding of the Rowan County summer school program was provided by the U.S. Office of Education while, as noted earlier, the OEO supported the University training session. USOE Commissioner Howe, on a visit to the program, spoke most favorably of the project for integrating these two federal programs.

During the three weeks of the practicum the teacher-aide trainees, with guidance from the teachers in the program, participated in the same types of duties that are normally assigned to the teacher-aides in eastern Kentucky. The experience included working with small groups of children under the close supervision of a regular classroom teacher.

The certified teachers, in their roles as resource persons in the laboratory sessions that were provided for the aide trainees, reflected greater confidence in assuming a required leadership position essential to proper utilization of the teacher-aide trainees when they became full-time employees of local school districts.

Prior to the summer session, many of the teachers had not been enrolled in a college class since receiving a baccalaureate degree, but many of the teachers expressed an intent to continue their graduate work now that the impetus had been provided.

A second phase of the training session was a one-day workshop held in each of the county centers prior to the opening of schools in September. Staff assessments of these workshops assigned them poor ratings, largely in terms of the lack of congruence between the expectations for the aides' work assignments as viewed by local school personnel and those established in the summer training session on the Morehead campus.

Evaluation of Summer Training Session. Both staff and participants of the training session had many reactions to the experience. These would appear to be of real value in planning subsequent training sessions, either at Morehead or in other programs with comparable objectives and personnel.

Following are some of the reasons why teachers and aide trainees felt the summer program was a valid and worthwhile experience:

Aide trainees and teachers became aware of existing problems through films and discussions. Self-improvement and interest in the teaching profession was stimulated. Participants gained an understanding of each other, of the importance of teacher-pupil relationships, and of role definitions. Besides aides learning to respect themselves, teachers learned to respect the aide's position.

Given an opportunity to suggest ways in which the training session could have been improved, participants made these suggestions:

Daily activities could have been planned more carefully. More instruction on using audiovisual equipment should have been given. Some of the participants should have been more cooperative. Participants should have been selected more carefully. A set schedule should have been given to the participants at the time the session began. Principals should be informed of the events of the training session so they can help aides during the year. Principals should be included in all inservice activities. There should be someone in each school system to supervise the aides and to help them when necessary. The practicum should afford the aide-trainees more opportunities to work directly with children. The participants should have a choice of classes to be offered for credit in the program.

Reactions of Professional Staff. The experience of the Morehead project director and associate director generated evaluative perceptions regarding the training session which ranged from the utilization of experienced teachers in the program to the utilization of programmed instruction designed to individualize training experiences for the aides. The major insights gained by staff are described below.

1. Utilization of Professional Teachers. The involvement of a group of experienced professional teachers in the training program for teacher-aides benefited the Morehead Program in a number of ways. One was in providing a number of immediately available on-the-spot resource persons for a variety of training activities. A second was in helping to communicate among the aide-trainees a perception of the importance of the training program and its relevance to the classrooms in which they would soon be operating. A third benefit of teacher involvement in the training session lay in the understanding these teachers developed concerning the needs of teacher-aides, what might be expected of these auxiliaries, and of how cooperative relationships with them might be established and maintained. With this knowledge the teachers were able to return to their schools and assume leadership roles in the integration of teacher-aide services into the ongoing program of the school. The summer experience seemed to lend strong support to the value of

involving teachers in training programs, both preservice and inservice, for teacher aides.

2. On-Campus Training. While many training experiences are best geared to the specific school and classroom in which the aide will work, it seems desirable that some part of the training for teacher-aides be conducted on a college campus. Also, during summer sessions, the trainees should be encouraged to reside on campus. A college campus provides a setting for cultural and social learnings which may be prerequisite to the teacher-aides' success. During their residence on campus in the summer of 1967, the Morehead teacher-aide trainees noticeably improved in their dress and manners as well as in their overall confidence. This improvement promotes better adult models for the disadvantaged children in the schools the aides serve.
3. Adequate Structure in the Training Schedule. In planning the schedule for the summer training it was felt that the structure should allow for flexibility, permitting time changes and alternatives for training activities. In the final group-meeting evaluation, however, many trainees and teachers were critical of this approach. It is apparently more appropriate to develop a more tightly structured training session, whether it be preservice or inservice. Then, as the participants grow in their ability to adjust to different situations, it may be desirable to deviate from planned activities.
4. Providing Manipulative Experiences. In the training of teacher-aides at Morehead, efforts were exerted to maintain a balance between classroom work and laboratory experiences. In laboratory sessions, aide-trainees were given opportunities to develop manipulative and manual skills that were needed on the job. One of the challenging experiences for the trainees was the computerized arithmetic instruction that was programmed at Stanford University. Using the teletype machine to relay their answers, the trainees were forced under pressure to supply their responses in a matter of seconds. This technique was instrumental in improving their arithmetic skills; teacher-aide trainees also improved their coordination between manual manipulation and mental reaction. During the summer training session, the aide-trainees gained confidence in their ability to do a good job and they displayed more and more pride in the outcomes of their efforts.
5. New Media and Individualized Techniques. During any training session for teacher-aides, new media techniques should be used extensively. A well-planned showing of films can provide the trainees with a rich background of information in a short space of time. A wide range of audiovisual materials should be utilized. Simulated experiences and role-playing situations provide realistic settings for the trainees. Programmed instruction in the areas of arithmetic, English and reading is essential to the success of the

training program since it provides opportunities for the teacher-aides to improve through individual efforts.

6. Clarifying the Legal Status of Auxiliaries. During the summer training session, a representative of the State Department of Education outlined the legal status of teacher-aides in the schools of Kentucky. As a safeguard to all concerned, it is imperative that teacher-aides be oriented to their legal responsibilities. Also, it is wise for school administrators to acquaint teacher-aides with school board policies that affect them and the general operation of the classroom.
7. Suitability of Training Materials. Properly prepared training materials will greatly enhance program effectiveness at both preservice and inservice training levels. Out of the Morehead demonstration training program came guidelines for developing such materials.

Materials should correlate with the aides' needs according to their educational economic and social background and geographical location. The materials should be self-explanatory and capable of use in individual and small group learning situations. The materials used should assure adequate mastery of every lesson before moving on to the next assignment. The situations and materials in the training program should simulate conditions in which the teacher-aides are normally assigned.

THE UTILIZATION OF TEACHER AIDES

Assignment of Aides. Trainees from the Morehead summer session were assigned as aides in four eastern Kentucky counties—Breathitt, Fleming, Johnson, and Pike. Each of the counties had programs already established involving utilization of teacher-aides under grants from OEO.

The range of physical circumstances into which aide placement was made varied from a new, flexibly planned school building intended to implement the instructional team concept, to depressingly substandard facilities characterized by dirt and poor maintenance, inadequate toilet and heating facilities and inaccessible locations. In a number of cases observations of the aides in action were arbitrarily limited to those schools where larger numbers of aides were clustered because of the need to make most efficient use of the time of observers.

Considerable variation was apparent also in the appearance and behavior of the children and the performance of the teachers. While, as in many school circumstances, some children were better dressed and better groomed than others, several of the most substandard elementary schools seemed to have in them large numbers of children whose hands and faces were dirty and who yawned and slouched in their seats much of the time, giving the appearance of being very tired. While most of the teachers seemed dedicated and genuinely cared for the children in their charge, some seemed to do only what they had to. Some of the teachers brought toothbrushes, deodorants, socks and similar articles for children who needed them. Some had soap, wash cloths, and pans of water in their rooms where there were no toilet facilities–usually in reading program rooms in separate buildings from the main school facility.

All of the schools visited had Science Research Associates Reading Programs supported by federal grants. Some schools housed such programs in excellent facilities while others provided only a small room in an old house located behind the regular school building, heated only by a potbellied stove. All of the schools had the necessary equipment and materials for the program, including books, reading cards, charts, and various pieces of audiovisual equipment. While all of the teachers visited reported that they used all of the materials and equipment provided, in only two schools were any aids in use other than books, workbooks, and reading cards. It seemed at least a possibility that some of the reading teachers did not know how to properly use the equipment that had been provided them. In several instances the shiny new audiovisual equipment provided a sharp contrast to the dirty rooms, battered desks, and potbellied stoves around them.

Observing the Aides in Action. While periodic informal observations of many of the aides from the training program were made by the summer staff and by the consultant-observer, it was believed desirable to plan a more structured series of observations to gain further insight into their utilization. Accordingly, it was agreed that two graduate student observers would be employed and trained for this purpose. Utilization of a structured classroom observation format developed by Karl Openshaw of California State College, Sacramento, was agreed upon.

Although originally intended to be applied to visits in each of the four Kentucky counties involved in the project, the Openshaw classroom observation record could only be applied to visits in three of the counties. In the fourth, Johnson, the aides were all assigned as clerical or office auxiliaries and could not be observed in activities directly relating to the classroom and to teacher behavior. The considerable geographic spread of some of the schools to which the aides were assigned, coupled with the difficulties associated with matching observation hours with the classroom work schedule of the aides resulted in such observations being conducted for only fifteen of the aides trained and employed.

Table XIV which follows shows the distribution of time spent by the fifteen aides observed for a thirty-minute period in each of the activities or behaviors specified by the observation format. It should be noted that the analysis of time spent also records the activity of the classroom teacher during the same period. Since the observations dealt only with situations in which the aide was in the classroom for at least a half-hour block of time no generalizations can be drawn regarding the proportion of the total work assignment of the aide spent in such activity. The item labeled "Clerical" refers to clerical activity conducted within the classroom and during the period of the observation. In several instances aides scheduled

TABLE XIV

SUMMARY OF STRUCTURED CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS OF FIFTEEN TEACHER–AIDES EMPLOYED IN THREE EASTERN KENTUCKY COUNTIES

TEACHER			AIDE		
Behavior	**Time Spent (Minutes)**	**Percent of Total**	**Behavior**	**Time Spent**	**% of Total**
Content		65.0	**Content**		29.2
Instruction	26	(5.8)	Instruction	14	(3.1)
Monitoring	124	(27.5)	Monitoring	71	(15.7)
Activity	143	(31.7)	Activity	47	(10.4)
Interpersonal With Pupils		16.9	**Interpersonal With Pupils**		22.5
Supervising	15	(3.3)	Supervising	4	(.9)
Reprimanding	0	(0)	Reprimanding	0	(0)
Doing For	61	(13.6)	Doing For	97	(21.6)
Routine Tasks		15.7	**Routine Tasks**		44.7
Clerical Work	12	(2.7)	Clerical Work	115	(25.6)
Manipulation of Things	58	(13.0)	Manipulation of Things	86	(19.1)
Interaction With Aide	9	2.0	**Interaction With Teacher**	9	2.0
Inactivity	2	.4	**Inactivity**	7	1.6
TOTAL	450	100.0	**TOTAL**	450	100.0

for observation were involved in clerical duties outside of the classroom and, consequently, no observation form could be completed for them.

In reporting further on the utilization of the aides the observers noted that their predominant use was for clerical purposes, either in the classroom or for the school as a whole. The most common clerical duties performed were typing, mimeographing, and grading papers. Another common routine function was managing, which involved such things as caring for audiovisual equipment, organizing and straightening up classroom furniture, book collections, and such "housekeeping" duties as dusting, emptying wastebaskets.

Under monitoring activities the observers noted aides overseeing small groups while the teacher was engaged in instructing the larger group, listening to children read, or perhaps overseeing the classroom activity during short periods of teacher absence.

While aides were never observed instructing a total group in a regular academic subject they were involved in supervising small groups in study activity and in helping individual students, particularly in reading programs, while the teacher instructed the remainder of the class. If asked by the teacher to do so, aides sometimes instructed individual children in spelling, simple math, and other skill subjects.

Although aides were never seen to reprimand children with either harsh words or actions they did on occasion help to regulate children's behavior when a class was divided into small groups.

Very little interaction was noted between teachers and aides during the classroom observation periods. It is likely that this was a result of the prearranged schedules for the work of the aides, either in discussions before the class period began or in long-range assignments worked out with a group of teachers.

Teacher Aides Report on Their Job Assignments. In a further effort to gain insight into the ways in which teacher-aides were being utilized, a group of aides assigned to schools in eastern Kentucky were contacted. They were asked to keep an accurate record of the time devoted to the various tasks assigned to them during a one-week period. They were also asked to respond to three questions designed to solicit their opinions about teacher-aide assignments. Responses from forty-two teacher aides were received and tabulated.

According to the responses received from the aides, they typically spent seven hours a day, five days a week, at their assigned school. This time included an average lunch period of thirty minutes which most aides reported they spent in eating lunch in the same room used by the pupils, a practice which conformed with their own preference.

When asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the manner in which teacher-aides were utilized in their school, the respondents generally reported that they were placed where they were most needed or for good purposes. They expressed a belief that teachers were appreciative of the services performed by the teacher-aides. However, one aide indicated the school did not know how to use teacher-aides and two other aides objected to being used as cleaning ladies.

In another opinion question, the aides were asked to outline apparent advantages of their services to the classroom teachers with whom they worked. An advantage listed most often was the teacher's time freed for work with children needing individual help. Other comments referred to teachers needing to spend less time correcting papers, preparing reports, and typing and reproducing tests and work materials, thus being able to devote more of their time to improved teaching, work with slow students, and the evaluation of student needs and efforts. Still other aides spoke of assisting teachers at recess, during lunch, and in the preparation of instructional materials and bulletin board displays.

In the third opinion question, the aides were asked to list disadvantages to the classroom teacher resulting from the utilization of aides. While most responded "none," a few identified interruptions of the class by aides wanting more work assignments, self-consciousness at having another adult in the room, children's lack of acceptance of the aide, and the confusion resulting from split assignments among several teachers as possible disadvantages.

Aides reported the following time distribution for a work-week.

Area	Average Time Reported	Percent
Classroom Responsibilities	24 Hrs.25 Min.	72%
Clerical Responsibilities	5 25	13
Monitorial Responsibilities	2 40	8
Lunch Period (own lunch period)	2 30	7
	35 Hrs.	100%

Aides reported an average weekly assignment of 72% in classroom responsibilities. This does not mean that they were actually in the classroom that much, since on-the-spot observations revealed that the teacher-aides in selected schools spent more than half their time outside the classroom. Responsibilities such as checking tests and preparing seat work, while directly related to classroom activities, may be carried out effectively either in or outside the classroom. Further analysis of the responses noting classroom responsibilities indicated that the aides were assigned predominantly to checking tests and homework and to preparing or duplicating seat work, charts, and other instructional materials. Nearly 37% of the time reported being spent in classroom responsibilities was devoted to such duties, a figure which represented almost one-fourth of the aides' total workweek. Other classroom responsibilities frequently mentioned included housekeeping chores, recording grades and test scores, helping children individually or in small groups, assisting teachers in special classes, and helping in the library.

Clerical responsibilities required an average of 13% of the teacher-aides' time for the week. According to the teacher-aides, about one-third of their clerical assignments were devoted to secretarial responsibilities in the main office of the school. Aides also indicated they were responsible for collecting money, filing, selling lunch tickets, and running errands.

Monitorial responsibilities consumed an average of 8% of the teacher-aides' workweek. Although lunchroom duty was listed most frequently, teacher-aides also reported assignments in the playground, as bus attendant, and as manager of the class when a teacher was temporarily absent from the classroom.

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The experience of a summer training program and the subsequent utilization of teacher-aides in a number of eastern Kentucky schools seems to have been rewarding both for the schools involved and for the University. While much remains to be done at every level to make such programs more effective, the Morehead Project in conjunction with the OEO Aide Programs in a number of predominantly rural Kentucky counties, represents a significant beginning. In reviewing the experience, a number of ideas emerged with implications for the future.

An Expanded List of Useful Teacher Aide Activities

Playing games with children in the classroom and playground.
Interesting inattentive children in classroom activities.
Listening to pupils talk about themselves, tell or read a story.
Talking with an upset child to soothe him.
Taking charge of a group of children working on a project while the teacher is working with another group.
Acting out stories with children.
Reading and telling stories to children.
Taking children to the bathroom, showing them how to use the facilities.
Helping children with programmed materials whether a teaching machine or a book.
Helping children who have been absent to catch up on their work.
Helping children as they move from one activity to another either in the classroom or in the building.
Monitoring the class for a few minutes if the teacher is called out.
Singing with pupils.
Helping children learning to use crayons, scissors, paste, paint.
Attending meetings with teachers.
Demonstrating good housekeeping procedures to children.
Reviewing teacher's directions for children.
Helping children improve physical skills.
Helping children in social behavior.
Encouraging children to accept themselves.
Helping a child who is attempting something new.
Writing down observations of children at the request of the teacher.
Helping children overcome embarrassing situations.
Giving a child an opportunity to show that he can do something well.
Encouraging children to help each other and to respect others.

Helping children to learn to give and take in the classroom.
Helping children with individual projects.
Giving the teacher information about children when it is in the best interest of the child.
Preparing all types of instructional materials.
Typing of tests, study materials, correspondence, etc.
Operating instructional equipment.
Assisting in daily check on health of children.
Giving first aid to children in accordance with school board policies.
Taking children to various places in building as directed by the teacher.
Preparing bulletin board displays.
Filing and cataloguing materials.
Duplicating materials.
Keeping all types of records that are assigned.
Helping children learn proper use of equipment.
Making arrangements for the use of equipment.

Recruitment and Selection of Trainees. Ultimately, the quality of the services performed by teacher-aides depends upon effectiveness in recruiting high caliber persons for training. It is good practice to advertise the position openings broadly in order to attract candidates from all social groups in the community. Some type of application form should be available to the applicants and a written contract should be negotiated with persons eventually accepted for training and employment. It is recommended that the State Employment Service conduct the first phase of the screening process, leaving only acceptable candidates in their opinion to be screened further by the school administrators. The expertise of the interviewer is crucial to the selection of the best qualified people for employment. An important criterion in the selection of teacher-aides in eastern Kentucky is the insistence on bona fide character references, who should be contacted through a personal interview, a written report, or by telephone. While all low-income persons do not qualify automatically for employment, the potential for significant service from this group warrants school administrators' consideration. Administrators are encouraged to adopt requirements for employment that do not lock out the disadvantaged person from such positions while protecting the interests of the school children.

Educational Values of Services Performed by Teacher-Aides. Although the employment of teacher-aides in eastern Kentucky has provided beneficial employment opportunities, all expenditures for school purposes should be determined ultimately by the educational attainments resulting from the financial outlay. It is likely that many teacher-aides in eastern Kentucky continue to serve with little or no assessment of their effectiveness in improving the educational experiences of children. Through the efforts of the demonstration-training program, professional personnel may become more aware of the need to evaluate the services of the teacher-aides in order to determine their impact on the educational program of the school and to utilize them more effectively.

Effectiveness of the Teacher-Aide Training Program. The experience with aides in Kentucky suggests that the problems resulting from their employment are greater in schools where the participants have not been involved in a formal training program. In some schools, teacher-aides have been assigned jobs on a hit-or-miss basis and in many cases there is little evidence that employment provisions have been properly agreed upon. In one school system, where some aides participated in the summer training session and others did not, the superintendent stated that those who participated were distinguishable from those who had not. In another school system, teachers reported that returning teacher-aides could assume a greater variety of duties since participating in the training session.

Although it is extremely difficult to measure objectively a person's changes in attitudes and general outlook on life, it was the opinion of the director and associate director of the summer training session that noticeable changes did come about during that period. Trainees demonstrated more pride in dress and manners and they seemed to reflect more confidence in themselves as worthwhile members of our society. It was heartening to observe the gradual reduction of hostility that many trainees seemingly reflected in the first open discussions of the program.

Providing Training for Specific Job Assignments. In eastern Kentucky, most auxiliaries employed recently with federal funds are referred to as teacher-aides. During the summer training session at Morehead the trainees were prepared to assume duties normally assigned to a classroom-aide. In actual assignments, however, some trainees became school-aides, while others were assigned responsibilities as library assistants or as aides to the special reading teacher. The remaining aide-trainees assumed the responsibilities of a general classroom aide, but they served from four to twelve teachers, and most of their time was spent outside the classroom. It seems apparent that the career development of auxiliary personnel in eastern Kentucky will be a slow process; therefore, it is recommended that training programs maintain an appropriate balance between general training experiences applicable to many aide roles in the school and more specialized training.

The Importance of School and College Cooperation. Important in any setting, the close cooperation of schools and colleges on teacher-aide training and utilization is crucial to the success of such efforts in rural areas where resources are limited and spread over a broad geographic region. The development of the community college system in Kentucky and the inauguration of an extensive educational television network provide significant new resources by which universities, local two-year colleges, and school systems can integrate their preservice and inservice education efforts to prepare auxiliaries for the classroom and to help teachers and administrators use them more effectively. Clearly, one of the insights gained from the project in Kentucky has been the urgent need for reexamination of existing programs of teacher preparation so that new teachers may be prepared with the disposition and the skills to work in instructional teams that include other teachers, a variety of ancillary specialists, and a range of auxiliary personnel.

IX. AUXILIARY UTILIZATION IN NORTHEASTERN MAINE— A CASE STUDY

LeRoy Bowman, Consultant-Observer
John Lindlof, Director

Report by
LeRoy Bowman

THE PLACE, THE PEOPLE AND THEIR TRADITIONS: DETERMINING FACTORS OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The Place and the People. The land and the people of Northeastern Maine offer unique determinants of the success or failure of efforts to introduce educational innovations. The capacity of school boards to finance, and the willingness of the populace to accept a new venture, are items that present unique features. At first hearing, the mores that are tight and solid in New England, and especially in Maine, stir negative reactions, when the idea is broached to put untrained helpers in the classrooms with the teachers. The results of the project on auxiliary personnel, therefore, have been surprising, not so much in the extent of the change as in the direction of the shift of attitudes. After all, Maine and its people have stood steadfast for many generations. What has happened in the course of Phases One and Two of the Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education, has not changed the face of the land, but does invite the attention of students of social developments.

Tradition. On the map, the northern tip of Maine pushes up between the Canadian province of Quebec and New Brunswick. Opposite New Brunswick are located the three towns presently conducting auxiliary personnel projects in the schools. Some of the characteristics of the culture of the people in this area became the pattern that is to be found in the attitudes of their descendants of today. In the report of a lengthy study by the Reverend Francis Brassard, A.A., titled *The Origin of Certain Public Schools in the St. John Valley of Aroostook County, Maine, 1967*, testimony of several visitors to the Upper St. John Valley appears:

> These testimonies indicate how strongly these people tend to cling to their traditions, manners and customs. The loyalty to tradition is best characterized by the deep religiousness of these people. Visitors to the region have never failed to dwell on this distinctive quality. They are of the Roman Catholic faith and are devotedly attached to their church and scrupulously faithful in religious observances. In their intercourse with strangers they are polite, kind and hospitable.

One of the factors setting limits on educational progress, then, is the hold of tradition on the minds of the people.

Poverty. Poverty is a second, widespread, inescapable burden for workers untrained in any but skills of the farm. Agricultural skills failed as the early years of the settlers passed and left the families with a sense of increasing poverty. The report of Warren Johnson, the State Superintendent of Common Schools, in 1870, gives further evidence of the acceptance of poverty by northeastlanders as inevitable:

> Thus this community of the upper St. John Valley have lived for nearly a century, gaining a scanty subsistence from a soil, fertile indeed, but producing only such crops as ripen in a brief season, and consuming in their long winters nearly all of the summer products. With no profits arising from exchange, trade or manufactures, the people really are poor compared with other portions of the State. They are, therefore, wholly unable to furnish the pecuniary means required by the law of the State in other towns and sections. The school statute requiring towns to raise one dollar for each inhabitant, could not possibly be carried out here, without obliging the people to sacrifice their fields and homes. They have but little money–their currency being mostly buckwheat and shingles.

Following the economic history of the St. John Valley further down the years, the Maine School Report of 1897 presents this changing picture:

> In the latter part of the 19th century, the steadily increasing population forced many Madawaskans (former name for residents of the whole area) to leave the valley in search of work. Toward the end of the century, large numbers each year went to work in the potato fields of the Aroostook Valley; others went farther south to work part of the year in the hemlock forests, peeling the bark for the large tanneries of the region. Besides farming, the major occupation of the valley was lumbering. The pine forests were vast. The wood was good and it was close to the natural highway of the valley, that is, the St. John River. As time went by, timber took on greater importance. At certain seasons of the year, lumbering gave employment to many settlers, often to the detriment of farming.

The Rev. Father Francis Brassard A.A. states:

> But for most farmers it was difficult to get ahead. Inheritances in the large Madawaskan (upper St. John) families broke up homesteads, and with time the younger sons were forced to seek land elsewhere. Good land became relatively expensive and difficult to come by—getting started was difficult. The settler had to clear the land—no mean feat in the heavily wooded inland areas. Then he had to plant and harvest a crop sufficient for his own needs and large enough to market the surplus. High transportation costs, the results of poor communications, made it extremely difficult to compete with downstate farmers. Isolation also forced the Madawaskan farmers to pay outlandish prices for needed imported products. Fertilizers were beyond his purse, and this, together with ignorance of modern agricultural methods, contributed to an overworked soil. In these conditions, bad years were disastrous, for they forced the farmer into the unrelenting grip of the money lender.
>
> During and immediately after the Civil War, when business was booming in other sections of the East, the general economy of the Valley maintained much the same level of poverty, and this made educational improvement extremely difficult, if not impossible . . . educational progress was always slow in the upper St. John Valley, because its largely agricultural economy, so isolated from markets and from industry, and so restricted by climate, was too poor to afford the facilities and salaries that would make it interesting for qualified teachers to settle there. This and other religious, social and cultural factors led to the introduction of teaching congregations in the schools of the region at the turn of the century.

The tradition and the economic development of the upper St. John Valley have been described at length because they are so thoroughly basic to the difficulties and the pace of progress in the schools of today. The factors treated in this historical sketch are the retarding elements to be met at every schoolhouse in the area. They are reflected in the manners and assumptions of school administrators, town meeting participants and legislators in the Valley in 1968. Mix them up and you have the matrix of education in rural areas. The dynamics of improvement is contained, in two senses, in their admixture. If a manual for rural as opposed to urban projects, begins in them, and without understanding of them by those who intervene, the schools in the area will remain very much in their present condition.

Reverting to the question of poverty in northeastern Maine and bringing the story down to the present, here are a few of the important indices, taken from the U.S. Extension Service and Maine Register, 1966-67:

> The median income in Aroostook County [including the communities in which the auxiliary project is being conducted] is $4,093, not so depressing a figure as those telling of the specific groups. Those receiving old age assistance in 1964 constituted 20.4% of the population; 31.0% received less than $3,000, a figure representing an average. More significant is the fact that the poorest families live in the rural areas containing 66.7% of the population.

Isolation. To the inquirer who asks what chief factor determines the lives of these people, the answer is: there is one all embracing, dominating circumstance—isolation of the place in which they live and in which they were born. They began life and continue through life far from the influences of adequate developmental conditions in the home, from the large urban population centers affording chances of decent economic support, from the scientific and cultural life that stimulate the mind as they relate it to the facts of modern society. It is one of the most sparsely settled areas in the United States. Since the great majority of families have ties that stem from their migration from Canada and since the international boundary between this country and Canada is such a thin and tenuous line in the minds and mores of the inhabitants on either side of it, the relations between the residents of northeastern Maine and the rest of the United States are few and weak. But relations are many and strong between the people on each side of the St. John River. Even a solid citizen of this country, visiting in a town located on or near the boundary, may decide at 11:40 in the morning to have a well-cooked, inexpensive steak luncheon at 12 o'clock in a restaurant across the river. The understanding between the people on both sides of the St. John serves to isolate them from parts of the United States of different cultural backgrounds. Finally, farm families, the most locally isolated type, predominate in the Valley.

Bilingualism. Operating to isolate the Valley folk perhaps more compellingly than distances between families or between the whole area and the urban influence of metropolitan communities is the universality of the French language; 75% of all aliens in Maine are French, and the proportion of French aliens on the borders must be considerably higher. Most teachers in the elementary schools of northeastern Maine are indigenous to the St. John Valley and speak with a French accent. In some of the upper educational echelons that accent accompanies perfect English. A review of the surnames in Wisdom High School reveals that 98% of them are French names. A large proportion of the children in the schools come from homes where only French is spoken. In the schools, according to state law, only English may be used. This creates one of the most difficult if not the most frustrating of all problems which the schools of the Valley face.

Inadequacy of the Schools. Without attempting any complete description of the services offered by the schools in the area, it is possible to give an idea of the deficiencies by quoting a few significant items from the Project to Advance Creativity in Education (PACE). It is a Title III, ESEA project "geared to the bicultural needs of the St. John Valley." Through interviews and secondary material, PACE gathered information about the schools. The following items are indicative of the many inadequacies:

> Libraries: none in elementary schools.
>
> Special services: none; no speech correctionists to help alleviate the added problems brought on by bilingualism. School counselors, school psychologists, and special teachers needed.
>
> Health services: a very limited program.

> **Special education: no program for handicapped pupils or those whose needs are unique.**
>
> **Research experimentation, innovation: have not been encouraged. Reliance has been placed upon traditional methods of organization and instruction.**
>
> **There is need for financial support.**
>
> **Achievement levels of the children are low.**

Professor John Lindlof, director of the project for auxiliary personnel, in the proposal to be described, offers some figures on aspects of the Maine schools. The State is 50th (lowest) among all the states in the per cent of high school graduates going to higher educational institutions, i.e., only 31% of the graduates go to college. The cause appears to lie partly in the small size of the secondary schools, (300 students) and their inability to offer the necessary courses of study. It must be added that a steadily increasing number of these schools are enrolling more than 300 students. A further detriment to the development of larger schools is the great distances students must travel to reach them. Lastly, many young people migrate from the state, lessening the social and economic contribution they might make to Maine.

THE PROPOSAL FOR THE AUXILIARY PERSONNEL PROJECT

Sponsorship. The University of Maine, at Orono, Maine, made application to OEO for funding of a "Demonstration Project for the Training of Auxiliary School Personnel," to run from June 1, 1967 through June 1, 1968. The project was to be the second training program for auxiliary school personnel, to be conducted in conjunction with, and integrated with an NDEA "Institute for Advanced Study for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth." The institute was funded by the U.S. Office of Education. The proposed staff had had experience in an institute for the training of auxiliary personnel. (This program is described in Phase One of the Study.)

Rationale. According to the application, the staff was convinced that the problem of rural education in Northeastern Maine was in need of continued attention. The plight of the children in the area was given, both in the fields of social and economic deprivation, and in the lack of adequate educational provision. The University proposed to include in the training program twenty-seven teachers or supervisors of teachers of disadvantaged youth of ages 10-13 so as to develop rapport and understanding of role differentiation. Since the role of the aide had not been fully defined, the training program was intended further to determine its characteristics. The College of Education proposed that it conduct a training program for auxiliary personnel employed in the elementary and secondary schools of three communities in Northern Maine, under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary School Act. The school systems involved agreed to continue employment of these aides in 1967-68.

Purposes. The University noted its intention to base its training on the new concepts of the role of the aides that had evolved up to that time; and to consider and deal with attitudes of parents and members of the community. It was planned to survey the communities carrying on the local programs to learn the attitudes held, and then to use the knowledge discovered to increase the effectiveness of the aide as a liaison between school and community. The proposal included a provision that the training program involve the aides with teachers and administrators in the planning, the conduct and evaluation of a program for thirty disadvantaged youth from rural Maine. Twenty mothers were finally enlisted as aides.

Content of Training Program. The proposal noted that the clerical or mechanical tasks which might be performed by the aide had already been covered in inservice programs. The proposal further noted that other duties involving the aide in some aspects of the teaching process had been taken into account in the program of the summer of 1966. During the previous academic year it had been found that the aides would benefit from further instruction in child and adolescent psychology, child development and family relatedness, all of which were to be included in the academic work of the summer.

It was intended to arrange for participation of teachers, administrators and aides in small group discussions, led by skilled group leaders. It was proposed that the aides would be given relatively formal instruction during the six weeks of the program in the use of educational materials and deeper consideration of child and adolescent psychology and family relations. In general, the content and process of the training program were executed, as planned.

In order better to prepare aides for their jobs, the University proposed to tentatively conduct an inservice program over thirty weeks of the academic year 1967-68, including visitations to the schools in the three local areas by experts in: reading and language arts, elementary and secondary mathematics, social studies, sciences and guidance and counseling. Visiting teams from the University were to spend one day a week in the schools, observing the aides in the classroom and conducting training sessions with aides, teachers and administrators. Largely because of the very frustrating factor of great distances to cover, this item was replaced by a three weeks' intensive course and a fifteen weeks' course in arithmetic, given one day a week.

Advisory Board. It was planned to have an Advisory Board serving as advisors and consultants to the director, composed of representatives of the State Department of Health and Welfare, the Maine Teachers Association, faculty of the College of Education, the Department of Rural Sociology of the College of Agriculture, and two representatives of the indigenous poor. This provision was carried out in multiple, informal contacts, which were found to be more effective in practice than a formal organization.

Process Observations. It was proposed that two research assistants, doctoral candidates in the College of Education, observe and assess attitudes of children, aides, teachers, administrators and members of the communities during the winter and spring of 1968-69. The Institute staff was to observe the impact of the program upon school-community alienation, pupil satisfaction and pupil participation as well as the nature and extent of aide utilization. A provision for monthly formal reports was fulfilled by many reports of less formal nature, serving as feedback from scenes of action to the responsible persons.

THE PROJECT IN PROCESS

Difficulties Inherent in the Situation. To judge a job fairly it is necessary to view it in the light of the handicaps under which it was accomplished. Therefore the description of the project is preceded by a brief note showing how the difficulties of the terrain affected the work. The director reported that the number of visits to the seat of operations was reduced and the length of time devoted to each visit increased for each person whose function necessitated his presence in the Valley. The distance from the University to the three towns covered by the project was an especial hardship for the director, for the reason that his own schedule of college duties was tight, without the added pressure of trips to northeast Maine. In the case of visits of the consultant-observer, the director spent two, or more often, three days and two nights accompanying the former in an automobile. The two research workers reported that the traveling time equaled the time devoted to observation and contacts in the field.

The Three Communities Involved. On the map three towns of northeastern Maine form an acute triangle–Fort Kent at the western end of the base, Madawaska at the northern end, and Van Buren at the tip, lying southeasterly of the two. If the triangle were sliced off, the big swing of the St. John River around the northernmost part of the state would be gone. Fort Kent has a population of 4,761, Madawaska 5,507, Van Buren 4,679. Madawaska is the most prosperous of the three, due to the large paper mill which receives its pulp from the Canadian town of Edmundton, through pipes under and over the St. John River. Judged by per capita income, Van Buren is the least prosperous. A passenger in a car following the road down the river from Madawaska can see the numerous potato barns, many of them in dilapidated condition, indicating poverty. Each of the three cities is the headquarters site of a school administration district, headed by a superintendent.

The Superintendents. The superintendent at Madawaska, John Houghton, a newcomer to the job, has turned over the details and much of the responsibility of the office to his elementary supervisor, Miss Joan Blanchette, an able, knowledgeable and pleasing lady. Since she has been the responsible person with whom communication was conducted by the consultant, she will be the person included in the term "superintendent" in this report.

The three superintendents are of middle age, competent and very responsive. They have welcomed the visits of the consultant, giving freely any facts requested, and answering freely any questions regarding evaluation of the workings of the project in the schools under their jurisdictions. Each one was expeditious in his manner, and in addition, very friendly. Differences in temperament between them were quite apparent. These differences, coupled with the varying characteristics of the towns and the town officials, made the workings of the project vary in many ways. In addition, the relations of the director toward each superintendent was singular.

Purposes Restated. As has been stated: "The Institute staff was to observe the impact of the program upon school-community alienation, pupil satisfaction and pupil participation as well as the nature and extent of aide utilization." The extent to which these objectives were achieved must be judged from the portrayal that follows of the project in action. In anticipation, however, of the description, step by step, it is well to relate the degree of understanding of the purposes reported by the superintendents and research workers.

Asked if the superintendents were kept informed of the purposes of the project, they answered as follows: Paul R. Kelly, of Fort Kent, wrote, "Yes, we were well informed of the purpose of the project. The project resulted in added respect for, and awareness of educational needs in the community." Joan Blanchette, elementary supervisor in the schools of Madawaska, said, "Yes, we were informed gradually, in visit after visit. It took time for us to realize all the functions of teacher aides." Gene Tardiff of Van Buren said, "I would have to say: 'No.' Perhaps I was guilty of a lack of effort to find out." If these three answers conflict with each other in some degree, perhaps a partial cause was the fact that superintendent Kelly wrote his answer, whereas superintendent Tardiff and supervisor Blanchette answered orally.

One research worker answered as follows: "I felt the need of understanding the goal. When I began I didn't know what I was working to accomplish or why. The project was halfway through before I had gained a good comprehension of the purpose behind it." The other research worker answered in somewhat the same vein, but showed less extreme feelings. Both experssed great enthusiasm for the total project and its purposes, when they had achieved full understanding.

Whatever may have been the lack of complete initial comprehension of the aims of the leaders for introducing auxiliary personnel into the schools, and whatever reasons lay behind the seeming tardiness in grasping the idea in all its ramifications, it must be said that in the latter half of the project, all connected with it seemed to show clear understanding of its aims, and dedication to their accomplishment.

The Staff. The working staff through the duration of the project consisted of the director, two research workers and occasionally, the secretary to the director, the four of whom met as a rule once a week. Professor Hyatt talked to the four about the approach to our main interest from a community standpoint. It was the only occasion on which more than the four met. Members of the Department of Education and a few from other departments gave lectures in the inservice course. Each of the research workers was called upon in the class on research methods and asked periodically what he was doing in the Valley. Indirectly and informally the discussions in the classes added something of interest and advice in a limited sense to the groups related to the project.

THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FACTORS ON THE SCHOOLS

The Late Potato Crop. In a large section of the target area, potatoes furnish the major source of income. The crop was in the wet ground during the early part of the school year, threatened by rot if it remained there too long. As a result, the children, who helped materially in the harvesting were called to school only on the days when the harvesting activity was impossible. As a result, varying numbers of school days were lost in the three school districts. Excusing the children on the soggy (under and above ground) days met with unanimous community approval, made more substantial by the practice of making up for the loss by holding classes on school holidays.

Madawaska made up for all the days lost. In Fort Kent, four school weeks were lost due to potato harvesting. In the opinion of the Superintendent there is practically no value in conducting classes during this period. In the Van Buren schools five days were lost, but were to be made up by June 14th. The necessity to close the schools is a serious misfortune but regarded as inescapable; if the schools' administrators fought against it, they would run into trouble in the community.

Catholic Teachers in the Public Schools. The presence of a large proportion of Catholic teachers in the public schools has caused many inquiries and innuendoes questioning the possible religious slant of the teaching. In September 1967, the director and the consultant were told of the close identity of church and state in the schools by the acting superintendent. Religious services were held before school opening, the visitors were told, and all pupils were required to attend in some of the schools. The visiting team was given copies of the history of the problem written by the Rev. Francis Brassard, A.A.: *The Origin of Certain Public Schools in the St. John Valley of Aroostook County Maine*. In it the rise of the schools between 1891 and 1930 is described. Reference is made to the religious garb of some of the teachers worn in school hours, seen at any time by a visitor to any of several of the schools in the area. Between 1891 and 1930, according to Father Brassard, several Roman Catholic pastors, sensitive to the need of religious education for their parishioners, took the initiative to build a school and to staff it with sisters. Then for economic reasons, they often negotiated with public school authorities for the use of the buildings for secular use. In all instances, the school property, both land and buildings, belonged to the parish. Economic interest seems to have induced the parishioners to accept the proposal that sisters be publicly paid to teach the children, particularly in consideration of a prevalent teacher shortage. The mixed schools came to an end and all of them became exclusively public. With one exception, land and building became publicly owned, operated and maintained.

One school, the St. Louis School in Fort Kent, was still owned by the St. Louis Roman Catholic parish, falling under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Portland. According to the contract entered into between the Bishop and the School Administration District, the town had the use of the buildings only during school hours of the school year. One other school in Fort Kent, the Market Street public elementary school, is publicly owned. The Superintending School Committee leased the property to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Portland for religious instruction from 8:20 to 9:00 a.m. each day of the school year. Attendance at the daily religious instruction classes at both the St. Louis and the Market Street School was optional; but after parental wishes were expressed, the children were obliged to attend the classes. Protestant parents sometimes wanted their children to attend the Catholic classes.

When a month later the consultant and director visited superintendent Kelly in Fort Kent, they were told that the Bishop of Portland had decreed that any Catholic services in public schools must cease. The only remaining connection was the renting of a bus by a Catholic school from the public school authorities. The superintendent at Van Buren remarked that the same thing might happen in his school district. Pressed to relate his interpretation of the problem of Catholic brothers and sisters teaching in the public schools, he enunciated in the simplest fashion an excellent analysis. Many teachers are Catholic because the majority of residents are Catholic. He had hired them as qualified public school teachers and regarded as his the responsibility to see that they taught in nonsectarian fashion. He expressed assurance that they were doing so.

One of the strongest traditions in the Valley is surely weakened, perhaps practically overcome, giving promise of a populace readier for innovation in the schools than had been envisioned up to that time.

Bilingualism. Bilingualism is by far the greatest problem for the schools in the Valley. Educators are of differing opinions as is illustrated in the superintendent's office in Fort Kent. In September, 1967, the elementary supervisor stated that more than 99% of the 640 children in the district are Catholic. Ninety to 95% of the French speaking families cannot speak English, and 50% of the children speak only French. He went on to say that 75% of the teachers speak French and English, the latter with a French accent. He felt strongly that he would have been greatly helped if his teachers had spoken both languages.

The next month the superintendent in Fort Kent gave a rosier account of the language situation. The problem in his estimation, has been overemphasized. Progress has been made in recent years. A few years ago children in kindergarten, and the first, second and third grades lagged behind the state norm, but rose above it by the time they reached the seventh grade. Three years ago the Valley was way below the rest of the state. Progress has been rapid toward a record equaling the state norm. Today 40-50% of the children speak only French. One may accept all that the superintendent said and still be convinced that a very difficult problem faces the schools because of the large number of pupils who do not speak English. Much help should be given to the state to help it reduce the impact of this problem on the children.

PACE was organized to mobilize forces to lessen the burden of bilingualism. PACE looked forward to a year of study and planning, but at the moment the project is moving slowly.

AUXILIARY PERSONNEL: AXIS OF THE PROGRAM

The Axis. If an educator sat on the North Pole and looked around, he would see the design of this section of the program in Northeastern Maine in perspective. He would see the meridians, each representing a feature of the action, rounding out at the equator, and then bending in and extending to the South Pole. The spot on which he sat would be the beginning of the whole process. The equator would be the program operating at its fullest; and the continuation of the great circles toward the South Pole, the pulling together of threads of assessment of the program.

One meridian would represent the staff and other persons who do the work; another–big and bright, alternating between a glowing, attractive zone of light and a forgotten, dark, long strung-out object–would be recognized as the purpose of it all. The curious, moving figures darting around beneath the meridians would be perceived as the population to be served (perhaps called the "universe"), and the expanse of land as the "target area." Each meridian would not be identifiable because the whole network would be revolving, moving so rapidly that all would become blurred and indistinguishable. However, the totality of the rotating mass would cause a whirring sound which would be recognized as the sound of global pronouncements.

At this point, the educator might speculate about the pivot around which the meridians revolved. If he were to investigate, he would find he was sitting on it and therefore had thought of it last–the North Pole, one end of the axis of the earth. He would see the individual items of the program all tied to the axis and completely understandable only as meridians in a moving totality.

The axis, he would discover, was the introduction of the use of auxiliary personnel in the community and its institutions, particularly schools.

Selection of the Aides. Who the nonprofessionals in the schools of Northeast Maine are and what they do are a result of their selection and training, their assignments, and the interaction between them and their professional associates. They were selected by school administrators in the communities in which the schools had committed themselves to employ those chosen. One requirement was that they have a poverty background. Nearly all of the 28 were employed after the summer preservice training and an intensive training session in the Valley.

Early Attitudes of the Superintendents Toward Aides. The superintendents told of their early reactions to the aides on the job. The three superintendents held much the same opinion at the time of the consultant's first visits to the area. "We want them despite our basic fear that they won't be permanent. We welcome them so long as they are paid by the federal government." In Madawaska, the elementary supervisor went further: "After a few years of experience with them, it is conceivable that we might find some hard money for their services." At Fort Kent the superintendent spoke of them as "a good investment." The point of view of the superintendents may sound pecuniary or even cynical. It should not be so interpreted. In the light of the directness, realism and open-minded response natural to a true citizen of Maine, the reactions of the superintendents must be regarded as a reflection only of cold, hard necessity in the face of budget problems.

Aide Utilization. Some of the activities carried on by the aides were assigned to them; some their own inclinations and initiative won for them. A few will be mentioned: some aides served in school libraries, especially in high schools. Several were utilized in the offices of principals, typing and dittoing for them and the teachers, helping with craftwork, taking charge of the bulletin board, checking payments. These tasks illustrate a long list of clerical and routine duties aides perform to relieve the teachers. Assisting in the classroom comprised a whole category of activities verging on, or actually participating in the learning-teaching process such as: monitoring a test made out by the teacher, drilling a group at the blackboard while the teacher was engaged with a larger number of pupils, or tutoring a child to speak English correctly. In a specific case of this kind a teacher-aide discovered that a boy was tongue-tied and started a series of tests and referrals to agencies equipped to deal with cases of this kind.

An unusually able aide substituted when a kindergarten class lost its teacher. Another kindergarten teacher-aide took on health and music assignments. Aides not infrequently were made individual partners with backward children. In many instances the mere presence of an aide in the room with a child who was blocked by some inability, resulted in sympathy springing up between them. Services to the children with special needs that the teachers could not have given, often evolved in such spontaneous fashion.

The trend in the use of aides in Northeastern Maine has been toward greater and greater appreciation of the value of aides in the classroom. Inevitably and in many various ways, the aides assisted in the teaching-learning process, despite the state law forbidding teaching except by trained and licensed personnel. The elementary supervisor in Van Buren put it well when he said he knew all about the law and did not intend to violate it. Nevertheless, he stated, as an educator, it is his duty to make a constructive interpretation of the law. He believes thoroughly in classroom aides and their use in every way that does not contravene the teacher's determination of the goals and structuring of the learning environment. The elementary supervisor in Fort Kent wound up discussion on the extent of the use of teacher-aides with the statement: "We should have started with a sufficient number of school-aides for library and clerical work, and enough others to try out teacher-aides, in many classrooms." One superintendent thought one-third of the aides were initially "good in the classroom." Observation in Maine indicates that with experience and training the aides would induce this superintendent to "up the ante."

Development of Nonprofessional Personnel. When is an incident or a series of incidents a "happening"? Only when something worth remembering has happened. When is a change in the behavior of groups and the individuals in the groups an "innovation"? Only when group habits have changed, even if only slightly, and more importantly, when expectations of all concerned look forward to the happening of the changed behavior. Somewhere in the above aphorisms two other ideas should be worked in, namely slowly and almost unconsciously, and against habit and other difficulties. One would be forced to admit that an innovation is insidiously happening in some (too few) schools in Northeastland, against tradition, against some vested interests, against some ingrained habits and practices. Slowly perhaps, but not so slowly as was to be expected.

Reactions of the Aides Themselves. The direction and rapidity of change within the minds of the aides themselves is illustrated in their utterances. When first put on the jobs, they spoke in these words: "We were scared at first. We didn't trust outselves." "We wanted our number to be increased greatly, even to a one-to-one relation to the teachers." "We wanted a room just for teacher-aides." Answers to the questions in a Teacher's Aide Questionnaire reveal concern for the tenure they wanted and clarity of understanding of the duties they would be called on to fulfill. "Couldn't we sign a contract to assure us of a job? "What kind of fringe benefits do we have as teacher-aides?" "What does belonging to the Maine Teacher's Association mean to us?" "Is it permissible to work for the whole school rather than just the kindergarten teacher?" "Define as clearly as possible what is expected of an aide in relation to the child in the classroom." "Are duties of clerical aides strictly office work, or are we allowed to help teachers with typing, running duplicating machines, correcting objective tests, entering data on cumulative folders?"

A few months after these questions were asked, the aides were almost completely in agreement that their work was pleasant and that they were an important factor in the accomplishments of the schools.

Undoubtedly the assignments and experiences on the job had worn away much of the uncertainty of tasks to be performed. And yet the feeling of pride and of being worth-while, also the facility of finding niches that teachers had not filled, these satisfactions and ambitions came from the nature of their role. By the same token, they looked more and more favorably on the classroom work and their participation in the learning-teaching part of it.

So far the description of the aides presents a glowing picture. However, consultant-observers, who were expected to look often and frequently, could find a dark spot in this picture. The spot, curiously enough, seems to shape itself into a question mark when the further development of aides points to the career ladder. As conceived, it is an excellent idea, allowing for a sure channel of upward mobility, even to the height of assistant teacher status for an aide who will take a two-year course at the University of Maine and engage in the classroom experience of a teacher-aide. He would undoubtedly by that time have learned to teach according to Maine law. It turned out disappointingly, that only one of the aides was contemplating completing all the requirements–an able, promising aide. One other, a very competent acting teacher in the lower grades had the ambition to go up, but showed such belligerency that her prospects were questioned by several who knew her well. Further, one of the superintendents, with legitimate pride, told of an aide who was supremely competent, whom he had selected to teach other aides. And yet, even she did not want to become a teacher.

Reasons for the lack of positive response on the part of the aides, seem not only adequate to explain the difficulty but also to suggest methods of obviating it. First, the teacher-aides, it developed, were almost all mothers, quite naturally tied to their husbands and children. On being questioned, they showed no inclination to be anything else. Further, if there had been a flickering interest in the career ladder, the distance from the University would have spoiled the prospect. This last difficulty will be overcome this fall, when a branch of the University opens in Fort Kent. The retention of motherhood status could be met by making the desire to climb the career ladder an important point, not necessarily a requirement, in the selection of trainees. The director, a Maine man, expressed a hope that the career ladder might feed students to the University. Very probably one-third or one-half of the aides-in-training, if they were ladder aspirants, would be living stimuli of similar ambition to the remaining trainees. One hesitates, even in a year of great political activity, to suggest that the ambitious trainees wear buttons indicating the colleges of their respective choices.

STAFF INTERACTION: THE MERIDIANS OF THE PROGRAM

Teacher Resistance and Acceptance of Aides. The anxiety experienced by the aides when first facing the new relationship with the teachers was paralleled by a similar trepidation on the part of the teachers. In their case, however, there was the added factor of being invaded by a group of outsiders. For example, at Madawaska some of the teachers asked, "What do we do with them; won't they take our places?" Before many weeks, however, all the superintendents were echoing the superintendent at Fort Kent, "All the teachers are quite in favor of aides." The elementary supervisor at Fort Kent stated that teacher-aides proved their worth in a "not sophisticated program." In the three programs the threat of loss of aides, even early in the game, brought serious complaint from the teachers. Whatever lack of appreciation of aides there was on the part of teachers was ascribed by the superintendent in Fort Kent in part, to the inadequacy of the training received in the state colleges. There developed a conviction that teacher aides were of greatest help in kindergarten and the first and second grades where the more personal relation to the pupil is uppermost.

Research and "Gossip." When the findings of research are not fed back to those who have been investigated, there often is a great need for a "leak." This might be destructive in some situations, but in Northeastern Maine the native ingenuity devised a "leak" that was quite auspicious. A brief record reads as follows:

Two young men, graduate students, good-looking and always ready to burst out with a joke, or at least a pun, were assigned as process-observers for the program. They were eager and learned quickly to make up for their modest training in research methods. They did not understand clearly until the mid-point of the program had been reached just what it was all about. As they became aware of the purposes of the program and began to glimpse the true significance of it, they gained confidence that grew into enthusiasm for the work and their part in it.

They bumped up against the problem of distances they had to cover, explained it to the Dean, and received his answer that he could not pay them for traveling. Consequently they bunched their trips to the Upper Valley; went up less often and spent more days on the job when there. Like all graduate students, facing the doomsday of their finals, they were pressed for time. However, their first loyalty lay to the program and they put in one-fourth teaching time at it. Observation in the classrooms intrigued them and they gladly spent thirty-five to forty hours at it.

Their research assignments covered enjoyable work, making at least three tape recordings of classroom work, structured discussions with the aides and informal discussions to elicit information which was difficult to acquire by other methods. At this juncture of the program they met for an extended conference with the consultant-observer.

"To whom do you report the findings of your research work?" he asked.

"To the Director."

"Have the findings of observation been fed back to the teachers?"

"No."

"There were two observations of classrooms in which teacher-aides participated. Were the aides told in any way how their share in the activities showed up in your research?"

"No."

"Have the aides been fed back the results of observations and been given an opportunity to discuss them?"

"No."

The tide of the conference discussion changed at this point, as the Process Observers told the Consultant what further had happened. They said the teacher aides "got hold" of them on every possible occasion and asked innumerable questions.

"Were these meetings planned?"

"No, not at all; they wanted to know what more they could do in the classroom; they wanted to express their feelings."

"And you, being presentable young men in a group of middle age women were glad to discuss everything they wanted to know? Did you have the answers?"

"It wasn't like that. It was talk, talk, talk, informal, a little kidding mixed up in it, maybe. It was half in fun and wholly in earnest. It was plain gossip; but we knew enough of the meaning of the Project to answer some of the questions they asked."

"And you felt that your job carried this sort of relationship?"

"No, of course it didn't. However, they needed help. They said they had no one else to turn to. We were a link. Were we overstepping?"

"No, just high stepping a bit. It all sounds like good stuff. You were channels of 'gossipy feedback.' "

"When did you talk over your own problems of research?"

"With the Director and his secretary frequently; with a rural sociologist on one occasion who gave us a talk on the community approach to our work. We were also asked by the instructors in our research class, after each trip, to tell the rest of the class what we were doing."

"But you two are going. Isn't it fair to say that graduate students necessarily come and go and therefore are not good for this kind of research work?"

"It is quite unfair. We love what we are doing. We can relate our own studies closely to the research. Furthermore, we may find jobs that lead us along the same path of interest and application. We think we are pretty good for the job. Right?"

"Quite right."

The Principals' Reactions to the Program. The role of the principal in the development of the idea of teacher-aides is obviously important, and yet for various reasons this matter had not been given the attention it deserved until late in the program. Interest had been centered on the attitudes and behavior of the aides and teachers. An instrument was worked out in March that was intended to disseminate knowledge throughout the area of the workings of the program in its various aspects, and also to show comparisons of the attitudes of the principals in the three towns. The instrument worked well in its application, first to provide the information desired, second to stimulate thinking about the points raised on the part of the principals, and third to offer an opportunity for the principals in group discussions to come closer to unanimity.

To administer the instrument requires two persons, the consultant and the director in this case. It was stimulating all around to go through the questions and satisfying both to see the high degree of agreement and also to have the principals raise some aspects of evaluation of the program which had not been foreseen. The instrument was most productive when it was administered by central authorities in the program. However, it may be administered with at least one advantage by a superintendent or elementary supervisor. The advantage consists of the freedom from a sense of need for more enthusiasm for the idea of auxiliary personnel than is actually felt. It is possible, also, to have the questionnaire mailed, answered individually and returned to the director or the consultant, without, however, the benefit of group discussion and evaluation.

The questionnaire with tabulation of replies is contained in Table XV.

A glance at the table shows the familiarity of the principals with the program, their support of it, and in a small measure, their needs in relation to the continuation of the work. In a few instances the director discovered areas of concern needing attention by him, and the consultant-observer found suggestions of inquiry of special difficulties in the plan of the program.

Comments on Principals' Responses.

Question 2. Originally the words "very much" did not appear. Only "Yes." The principals present were eager to say they liked the idea very much and proposed the addition of a fourth heading for the first answer to the question.

Question 3. In the first column, it is to be noted, Fort Kent representatives reported a distinctly increased amount of work when teacher-aides were introduced. The increase actually occurred in the first year only. From that time on there was very slight increase in work caused by the addition of teacher-aides to the school staff. The same comment should be made about the answers of the Van Buren principals.

Question 4. Many of the principals present were eager to have a qualification made about the improvement in the quality of teaching when teacher-aides were introduced into the classrooms. They said that the quality of teaching improved to the extent that the quality of the teaching by the teachers to whom aides had been assigned was enhanced.

Question 5. The principals asked that the heading "Often" be changed to "Have you heard of any." Under that heading, Fort Kent answered 1, Madawaska 4, Van Buren 2.

Question 7. To the answers given must be added that two complaints had been received concerning aides actually teaching. There was an indication that the school districts involved wished not to be identified.

Question 9. Several principals indicated a desire to have more choice in the selection of aides sent to them.

Question 11. Three said that the specific training should provide "more subject matter."

Community Aspects of the Program. There was no large advisory committee for the whole project. Instead, informal contacts with representative leaders in the Valley kept communication alive between the director and the public. These were undoubtedly of value, but the consultant believes that a formal advisory committee which would have reviewed progress and directed further developments was also needed.

A small advisory committee was organized for each of the three school districts. Each was intended for coordination within its respective district and there was no interrelationship between them. For all practical purposes they were inactive. If another project is organized in the Valley, an active, ad hoc committee for the entire area may be organized.

When the superintendents spoke of possible local financial support for the program, they referred to the School Board in each district and the Town Meeting. The Boards made up their budgets which were submitted by the superintendents to the Town Meetings. Board members were described as open-minded, willing to accept any good thing. One of the first difficulties they face with regard to the schools is lack of room. Schools are overcrowded with classes having 45 to 46 pupils each. The lack of room stems from lack of money. The district spending limit is determined by the valuation of property within it. One superintendent stated that his district had exhausted its capacity to borrow capital. Each year it is under obligation, according to state law, to repay $35,000 of the debt. High cost of education per child per year is a heavy burden, $575 per pupil in secondary school and $282 for elementary school pupils. For innovations the Board has analyzed and modified requests, and yet the Town Meeting has never turned down a Board budget. The contacts of leaders in the program with members of the Boards of Town Meetings appeared to be few and weak.

One possible source of information about how the community functions was suggested by the director who arranged interviews for the consultant with three community leaders who are close to the financial powers. One interview was with Mr. Rowland Martin, Manager of the Fraser Companies, Ltd. In the course of the interview he was asked: "What factors in your earliest years combined to direct your efforts toward leadership?" "I was sent to a private academy at great sacrifice to my father. It was the turning point in my life; it started me up. I have regarded education of children as the most important community service since then." Later he said that he is treasurer of Town Meeting and a leader in the education committee. However, he had not heard much of teacher-aides.

A second interview was held with a teacher in a high school, a young member of the legislature, who had been, or was at that time, an officer in

TABLE XV

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO PRINCIPALS
(N = 15)

1. Are you familiar with the functions of a teacher aide?

	Quite familiar	Fairly familiar	Slightly familiar
Ft. Kent	3		1
Madawaska	4	1	3
Van Buren	3		

2. Do you like the idea?

	Very Much	Yes	Somewhat	No
Ft. Kent	3			
Madawaska	6			
Van Buren	6			

3. Is your own work noticeably increased by the addition of teacher aides to your school staff?

	Distinctly increased	Not at all	Very slightly
Ft. Kent	3		3
Madawaska	1	2	1
Van Buren	2	1	

4. Is the quality of teaching in rooms in which aides help?

	Improved	Lowered	Changed very little	I haven't noticed
Ft. Kent	3			
Madawaska	3			
Van Buren	1			

5. Are misunderstandings or conflict between teachers and teacher aides brought to you for solution.

	No	Very occasionally	Heard of any
Ft. Kent		2	1
Madawaska		1	4
Van Buren		1	2

6. Have you heard or yourself noticed an improvement or deterioration in pupil behavior in classes served by teacher aides?

	Neutral	Heard better	Heard worse	Noticed better	Noticed worse
Ft. Kent	3			3	
Madawaska					
Van Buren	6				

7. Have any pupils or parents complained to you about teacher attitudes to children in teacher aide associated classes?

	Yes–Parents	Yes–Children	No–Parents	No–Children
Ft. Kent			3	3
Madawaska			5	5
Van Buren			6	6

8. Has the use of teacher aides added materially to work of the janitor, guidance counselor, or other staff members?

	Not at all	Slightly	Materially
Ft. Kent	3		
Madawaska	5		
Van Buren	5		1

9. If you had your choice would you ask for one aide, two aides, three aides, or more for classroom service in your school?

	One	Two	Three	More
Ft. Kent	1	3	3	
Madawaska		2	3	
Van Buren	1	2	3	

10. Are you familiar with the work of the school aide in the library or doing clerical work for your office and the teachers?

	Yes	No	Slightly	None
Ft. Kent	3			
Madawaska	5			
Van Buren	6			

11. Do you think necessary or highly desirable specific training for the type of work the school aide in your school is doing?

	Yes	No	A little
Ft. Kent	3		
Madawaska	5		
Van Buren	6		

12. Are you interested in the opportunity teacher-aides have of getting experience and training to advance them in status and amount of remuneration?

	Yes–very much	No	I know little about it
Ft. Kent	3		
Madawaska	3		
Van Buren	6		

at least 25 important organizations. Despite his prominence and great organizational activity, it was felt that asking him to provide the leadership for a large committee to approach the legislature would be unfair.

A third interview was with the leading member of the minority group in the legislature, a very able leader and a man of the utmost integrity. He was a friend of the director. He knew about auxiliary personnel, and might be, under favorable circumstances, the logical head of a drive to get action from the legislature.

All in all, the community has not been reached in adequate fashion, and as a consequence has not played the part needed by the program.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION

1. In Northeastern Maine there was uncertainty in the minds of two superintendents about the purposes of the program for months after it had originated. That and the further fact that the principals came together in groups to express their feelings about the program late in the period of its existence, suggests that both superintendents and principals might well have been the first to be given a complete understanding of the project. It may be assumed that they would then have helped in the training of teachers, aides and research workers. Perhaps in such a case, teachers who were skeptical of the introduction of second persons in their classrooms would have experienced less trepidation. The instruction of superintendents and principals might well have been given in "conference," and the word "training" used only for teachers and aides.
2. In an area as poverty stricken and as completely traditional in religion and divided in the use of language, as is the Upper Valley, acceptance, of an innovation like auxiliary personnel might be facilitated if there could be an understanding of the people and their values through preliminary individual experiences in the area by those who organized the program.
3. The great distances to be covered in the Northeast corner of Maine made it necessary to see that the consultant-observer be given transportation on his trips to the Valley. The director drove his car and accompanied the consultant. The practice made the trips very enjoyable and gave opportunity for valuable discussions of the program. However, it resulted almost inevitably in the two men taking part cooperatively in the meetings with superintendents, the teachers and the aides seen in groups and as individuals. In many ways the performance was profitable as well as enjoyable. Nevertheless, it ran counter to the instruction of Bank Street that the queries by the consultant of the individuals engaged in the various roles of the program be private. The significance of the rule lay in the nature of the consultant as

analyst and reporter to Bank Street of the activities of the participants.

It would be well to have the directive reexamined for areas of sparse population by those who formulate the guidelines. There are values both ways. A solution might be found by appointing as consultant-observer the owner and driver of his own car.

4. The subject of auxiliary personnel would not seem to local educators so new and narrowly conceived, if more stress were put by the leaders in the whole Study on the history of educational theory leading up to and including the concept of aides in the classroom.
5. More understanding and practice of community organization would undoubtedly facilitate the institutionalization of the use of aides. If the leaders of all large groupings in the community could be brought into the initial planning and into the establishment of policies and direction of the program, utilization of aides would follow more as a matter of course than at present. In Northeastland the question of aides is a separate, encapsulated, small matter to be adopted, if current climate of opinion and the condition of the local finances are favorable. Related intimately with other similar aspects of education, and favored by a larger segment of the power structure, it probably would succeed more readily and endure more permanently.

X. AUXILIARY UTILIZATION IN NEW YORK CITY— A CASE STUDY AND THE CITY'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

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Report by Lodema Burrows

THE COMMUNITY

The lower East Side of Manhattan has traditionally been the place where immigrants and in-migrants begin to build new lives in a new world for themselves and their families. It is a collection of small, distinct neighborhoods characterized by a concentration of poor people of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds crowded into old tenements and public housing projects. On its narrow, garbage littered streets children play; young mothers sit talking in the sun; unemployed men stand whiling the hours away, watched by the elderly who keep constant vigil from their upstairs windows.

The oldest neighborhood in the Lower East Side is Two Bridges. Bordered on two sides by Chinatown and the East River, it lies between the Brooklyn and Manhattan Bridges, a circumstance which gave the community its name.

Two Bridges has a long history of changing populations, beginning with families of freed Negro slaves during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These families were joined, and eventually displaced, by early Irish immigrants, who were themselves displaced, by a congregation of Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal. They were followed by Germans, middle Europeans, Greeks, and Italians. As each group moved out of the neighborhood, a tiny remnant remained, giving the area an intensely cosmopolitan flavor.

The more recent groups to enter the neighborhood are black families newly arrived from the South, Americans of Chinese origin who could no longer find housing within the crowded confines of Chinatown to the north, Puerto Ricans newly arrived on the mainland, and most recently, Chinese from Hong Kong who are arriving in increasing numbers with the relaxation of immigration restrictions on Orientals.

The population shifts reflect patterns in American culture. First, as an immigrant or in-migrant group moves from poverty toward affluence, particularly in the second or third generations, it tends to move out from its ghetto and become absorbed in the community at large. Second, in any such group, the most conservative elements of the first generation, many of whom have achieved the economic means to permit relocation to more comfortable, attractive areas, tend to resist such movement, preferring to remain in the ghetto until urban renewal forces them to move or until they die. Finally, there always seems to be a new poor minority ready to move in to replace the relocated group.

Resources of the Community. Since the community has served as a melting pot for an ever changing mixture of new arrivals to New York, it has long been of interest to sociologists and social workers. It has the distinction of being one of the most "social worked" areas in the country. There the renowned Henry Street Settlement House was founded by Lillian Wald in 1893. Other settlements, group work organizations, and religiously sponsored community organizations were rapidly established; Hamilton-Madison House, Educational Alliance, Five Points Mission, Mariner's Temple, Sea and Land Church are among the older social institutions. More recently the Lower East Side Neighborhood Association (LENA) and Mobilization for Youth (MFY) have shared in the development of community leadership and facilitated community action.

Local churches and synagogues have traditionally been important institutions in the area. The predominant faiths have been Roman Catholic and Orthodox Jewish, Protestants being the minority throughout the history of the community. Many Protestant churches are small independent congregations which form mainly along ethnic lines.

A factor common to all three religions in the area is their involvement in the education of the community's children. There is a large number of Catholic parochial schools. Some of the synagogues maintain shuls for the boys in their congregations. Others provide Hebrew schools after 3 o'clock. Both Catholic and Protestant churches hold released-time religious education classes weekly. Approximately 81% of the elementary public school pupils attend these classes.

The public schools are the institution which seems to affect the greatest number of families in the community. In spite of the number and size of the parochial schools, most of the poor new arrivals in the community send their children to the public schools. This tendency is due, largely, to economic factors. Tuition is required by most parochial schools.

Another pervasive community institution is what the residents refer to as "The Welfare." This institution has no local base and is represented in the community by the myriad case workers who make home visits and are identified by the notebooks they habitually carry. Over 50% of the families in the community are, or have been, on the welfare rolls.

An interesting manifestation of the dependency on welfare checks by a large proportion of the community is that the neighborhood has few cash-and-carry supermarkets. Instead, small food and sundry shops cluster near most street intersections. Such shops freely extend credit which is repaid when the welfare checks arrive. These shops also reflect the food preferences of various ethnic groups. Bodegas, Chinese grocery stores, kosher meat markets, and Italian bakeries are common.

Social Climate of Two Bridges Neighborhood. In a community such as Two Bridges, change in population is the most constant factor. However, heretofore, these changes have been in one direction: the new poor minority moves in to replace an older minority which has started to rise economically. The exception to this trend has been the existence of small pockets of stable middle-class families who have chosen to remain in the community. The most recent change is the introduction into the neighborhood of a new group: the middle- and upper-middle class.

Physical changes have contributed to this shift in the social climate of the community. An early evidence of the changes was extensive urban renewal in various parts of Two Bridges. Acres of ancient and squalid tenements were razed; their occupants relocated, in most cases to other parts of the city; and in their place low-income housing projects were built. A more recent development is the construction of massive middle-income cooperative apartment buildings and their subsequent occupation by middle-class families. The cooperatives, located on the former sites of slum-dwellings, necessitated further relocation of the poor.

These physical changes have resulted in an increasing economic polarization of the residents of the community, in that the poor who remain in the neighborhood tend to be the most poverty-stricken and the most newly arrived. The new middle-income residents, on the other hand, tend to be more affluent than the few former middle-income residents. Socially, the difference between the middle class and lower class is chiefly in the uses made of the existing social institutions in the community and the demands being voiced for changes within these institutions.

Few of the middle-class residents make use of local public or quasi-public institutions. Their involvement in programs at social agencies and settlement houses is minimal. The exception is that some parents permit their children to use available recreational facilities. Few of these families have shifted their attendance to local churches; they tend to travel back to their former churches uptown or to have suspended church attendance. The majority of these families prefer to send their children to independent schools in other parts of the city. Some have enrolled their children in local parochial schools. A very small percentage permit their children to attend the neighborhood elementary schools, but even fewer send their children to the district junior or senior high schools. None of these middle-class families qualify for public assistance, so "The Welfare" is not an institution which directly affects them.

School-Home Interaction. The public institution which appears to have achieved least acceptance in the community is one which affects the largest number of poor families: the public schools. The Two Bridges poor have no alternative but to send their children to the public schools. This lack of choice may increase home-school alienation. Until quite recently the poor have been most articulate among themselves in protesting against the quality of education their children receive in these schools, but have had few satisfactory outlets for public expression of their frustration.

The schools have attempted to provide an institutional outlet for parental participation in education through the Parents Association. Membership in the Parents Associations of the Two Bridges schools consists mainly of parents, both poor and middle-income, who have lived in the community a number of years, but who, for the most part, are becoming upwardly mobile. They see the schools being concerned with the middle-class values which they hope to attain for themselves and their children. Hence, they identify with the schools, even though some of them privately admit that the schools are not providing their children with the best possible education.

Many parents, however, have begun to look at education quite differently. In the past parents sent their children to school to be exposed to education. If the child did not respond, it was the child who was understood to be the failure. Today parents are demanding that the focus of education shift. They declare that every child has a right to learn. If a child does not learn in school, parents question both the content and the process. Education, they say, must be relevant to each child and his way of life, and content presented in such a manner that the child can respond.

For many years educators have used reading achievement as the main criterion of success. Parents, both affluent and poor, have come to accept a child's ability to read as well as the national norm for his age and grade as the chief predictor of his future success not only in school but also in the world of work, and therefore as an index of his ability to move upward in society.

Many educators now realize that reading achievement is not the sole determinant of success, and that pupil achievement might well be judged by a variety of criteria relating to the child's ability to cope with life situations rather than by the criterion of reading scores alone. However, reading scores are made public, district by district. Moreover, the ability to read is essential to employment beyond the menial level in our economy.

Most parents, therefore continue to use reading achievement as their chief criterion of evaluation of the schools. If their child does not learn to read, they say then something must be seriously wrong with the whole system. The increase in numbers of children in the schools who have

English as a second language is another complicating factor, making the educational process more difficult and progress necessarily slower. Many non-English speaking parents, however, tend to disregard this factor as they demand success in reading for their children.

The Parents Associations in Two Bridges seem to be perceived by the newly-arrived poor as part of the school establishment and not as effective agencies through which change can be accomplished. One parent, recently arrived from Puerto Rico, said, "The Parents Association talks about serving spaghetti too often for lunch. I want to talk about why my third grader isn't learning to read English." When asked why she did not introduce this topic at a Parents Association meeting, the parent replied, "It wouldn't do any good. The Parents Association can't do anything about the teaching. They are only allowed to talk about food and health, and safety, and parties, and assembly programs."

Most poor parents in the neighborhood seem fearful of attempting to establish communication with the staffs of the schools on a one-to-one basis. They do not avail themselves of the opportunities which the schools provide of meeting with teachers and principals to discuss their children's school work. Most of these parents will enter the school only if summoned by the principal for discussion of disciplinary action or academic failure, and in many instances, they fail to keep even these appointments.

Two social organizations have began to provide a forum for the long-repressed feelings toward the schools and a channel for action in the neighborhood. The Two Bridges Neighborhood Council, Inc., established to promote community fellowship and social welfare in this neighborhood, and Mobilization for Youth, a federally funded pilot project for the improvement of social conditions on the Lower East Side, began encouraging the development of grass-roots community action programs. These two organizations are participant-centered and action-oriented.

The parents brought to these organizations the following complaints: 1) approximately 80% of the children in low-income neighborhoods in New York City read below grade level; 2) more than 50% of all children in the New York public school system are behind national norms; 3) most pupils who complete puplic elementary schools are placed in the lowest acamedic group in junior high schools, because of their reading, which effectively prevents them from being accepted into academic high schools three years later.

Both Two Bridges Neighborhood Council and Mobilization for Youth not only agree with these observations from the parents, they also emphasize participatory democracy and encourage the use of tactics which produce immediate, recognizable results. The picket line, protest rally, letter campaigns to local representatives in the city, state, and federal government, sit-ins, rent strikes all were methods agreed upon by participants for use in bringing about change in social institutions.

Such tactics were not unknown previously on the Lower East Side. Many of the older residents had been active in the fight for labor rights and the establishment of unions. Others had been active in the Civil Rights

Movement in other parts of the nation prior to their arrival on the Lower East Side. The significant factor is that these tactics had not previously been considered by residents of the community as a means to achieve other social goals, such as better education for their children. The balance of power appears to have shifted to the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council, which does place great emphasis on the quality of education in the area.

THE TWO BRIDGES NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL

The Two Bridges Neighborhood Council, Inc. is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian community organization founded "for the purpose of promoting community fellowship and the social welfare of the neighborhood through education, planning, and action." The Council is an affiliate of LENA, the parent planning and coordinating agency for the social welfare needs of the Lower East Side population. Founded in 1955, the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council is presently accepted by LENA and by the community as a body which represents the social, cultural, recreational and welfare interests of the 35,000 people living between and around the approaches to the Manhattan and Brooklyn Bridges.

Structure of the Council. The work of the Council is conducted by committees, the members of which are recruited from the community. A small staff works with these committees in leadership development and as resource persons.

The Council is housed in a small storefront in the heart of the neighborhood. Its single room is dominated by a large meeting table, folding chairs, a mimeograph machine, and an institutional size coffee pot. A small desk for a secretary, a telephone, and filing cabinets fill the rest of the available space. A bulletin board covers one wall and is crowded with newspaper clippings referring to the neighborhood and the activities of the Council. A pile of back issues of the *Two Bridges News*, a Council published newspaper, spill off the radiator. The impression the room gives is of purposeful clutter which comes from too many people using too small a space to do too many things.

When large meetings are sponsored by the Council, meeting space is secured in neighborhood churches or other public buildings.

Programs Sponsored by the Council. Motivated by concerns about their children's education, the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council, since 1965, has initiated a number of projects designed to improve the reading skills of children in the area. The operation of most of these projects was conducted, and in some cases jointly sponsored, by School District No. 3 and Two Bridges. Recent projects are:

1. A Summer Remedial Reading Program was sponsored by the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council in close cooperation with neighborhood school principals and the assistant superintendent, Board of Education (district superintendent, District No. 3). Funded in 1965

and again in 1966 by OEO, these programs included not only remedial reading classes, but also pilot programs in parent education, curriculum development, teacher-training, home visiting, and the training of neighborhood people for subprofessional positions. In the 1966 program, 20 neighborhood mothers from all ethnic backgrounds served successfully as assistant classroom teachers.

2. As a result of collaborative school-community planning and federal recognition of active neighborhood involvement, the Two Bridges community became first in New York City to receive a planning grant for a neighborhood-based Title III program under ESEA. One of the most successful aspects of this planning grant was the training of 15-20 parents to become assistants to classroom teachers with a specialty in remedial reading.
3. A Parent Development Program (PDP) was funded to continue to work throughout the regular school year with the parents of youngsters with reading retardation; funded by OEO, the program is recognized as being a pioneer venture in reaching low-income, Chinese, Spanish, and English-speaking families of the community.
4. The Pilot Program Using Teacher Assistants in a Classroom Setting, developed in 1967, is the subject of this report.

PREPLANNING

The Education Committee of the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council evaluated the Title III Summer Remedial Reading Programs of 1965 and 1966. They decided that several components of these programs had such strength that it was important that they be continued throughout the academic year and incorporated into the educational programs of four elementary schools.

The components which the Education Committee deemed most beneficial were: 1) the use of mothers from the neighborhood as instructional assistants in remedial reading, and 2) the training which was provided to prepare these women to work in the classroom. The outcomes identified by the Education Committee as most valuable were the improvement in reading ability which most of the pupils seemed to exhibit after having completed the program, and the different concept of the school program and of teachers that the parents had apparently formed after having worked in such a program.

The Education Committee based the proposal they wrote for the "Pilot Program Using Teacher Assistants in a Classroom Setting" upon these successful experiences. In designing the proposal, the committee decided that if the program was to be truly incorporated into school programs it was desirable that the New York City Board of Education accept the financial responsibility for its operation.

The strategy for achieving this end included submitting the draft proposal to the office of the district superintendent for study and comment. The district superintendent responded favorably to the ideas in the proposal and made some suggestions for improving their implementation. The final draft of the proposal, which was acceptable both to the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council and the office of the district superintendent, was submitted jointly to the superintendent of schools.

Acceptance of the Proposal by the Superintendent of Schools. The proposal was submitted to the superintendent on November 21, 1966. The district superintendent was later informed that the superintendent of schools had accepted the proposal in principle and that monies would be found within the Board of Education budget to implement the program for four months, beginning in February 1967. The superintendent of schools then turned over to the district superintendent the responsibility for working through the details of the program with the community group and the principal of the schools involved.

Planning and Negotiation: The Advisory Board. The proposal, as submitted, left many details of operation to be decided jointly by the district office and the Education Committee of the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council, such as: composition of the Advisory Board, definition of objectives of the program, aspects of evaluation design, selection of reading assistants, school organization (number of classes, cooperating teachers, grades to be used), schedule for future meetings, training sessions, roles of personnel involved, and next steps.

After a long process of negotiation, the composition of the Advisory Board was agreed upon. It was to include: five members from the community–four parents and the senior staff worker of the Two Bridges Council; five members from the school system–a principal, two teachers, the district reading coordinator, and district community coordinator. The assistant superintendent for district No. 3 served ex-officio.

Besides these ten official Advisory Board members, the Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education, Bank Street College of Education, supplied nonparticipating process observers at the meetings. Consultants from the Study attended two meetings to discuss the evaluation design and to report on other projects which were being analyzed. The District No. 3 community coordinator and the chairman of the Education Committee of Two Bridges were named as co-chairmen.

Before the project could be initiated in the four schools, it was necessary that the district superintendent and the project administrator meet with the four principals involved to convey the purposes of the project, the organizational structure, and their responsibilities in securing the cooperation of teachers. In the first Advisory Board meeting the district superintendent pointed out to the group that cooperation of the principals was essential, that the principal was responsible for everything which happened within his own school, that each principal would want to have a voice in the selection of assistants as well as teachers to work in the project, and finally, that arranging meetings with the principals and securing their cooperation would take time.

The community members of the Advisory Board questioned the need to involve principals in selection of reading assistants. They cited the precedent of Head Start where aides and auxiliaries were placed in schools without the principals' participation in the selection process. They referred to the proposal for the project which, they stated, included checks and balances which safeguarded the principals' authority. On the question of the time needed to enlist the aid of the principals, the discussion became heated.

The position of the community members of the Board was that time was of the essence. Procedures would have to be changed so that the project could get under way very quickly. The school system members of the Board explained that their intimate knowledge of the proper procedural methods which had to be observed within the system made them the best judges of when to proceed. "What we are asking for is an extremely small area of flexibility," one community member of the Board stated, "After all, we all would not be sitting around this table working out this project if the school system had taught our children to read." In the face of this argument the Board agreed to move quickly ahead.

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

The Education Committee of Two Bridges submitted recommendations for selection of teachers to participate in the program at the January 16th meeting. After negotiation, these recommendations were modified somewhat and resulted in the adoption of the following process.

The principal of each participating school interpreted the project to his own staff. Two principals appeared to welcome the idea of using parents as reading assistants. They, therefore, presented the project as an opportunity to participate in an interesting and, in all probability, useful educational experiment. In these schools recruitment of teachers was not difficult; more teachers volunteered than there were available assistants (six had been allotted to each school in the initial planning).

In two schools where the principals were less enthusiastic about involving parents in the school operation, there was less immediate response to the request for cooperating teachers. The community representatives on the Advisory Board reported hearing that one of these principals had presented the program in such a negative manner that initially no teachers volunteered to work with assistants. Eventually four teachers in this school accepted assistants.

This information about the principal's negative presentation had been conveyed to the parent by a teacher in the school. It is mentioned here as indicative of the channels of communication which appeared to exist between some members of the school system (particularly teachers) and some persons in the community.

This informal grapevine operated constantly throughout the program from school to community. It appeared to operate less effectively from community to school. Messages from community to the schools tended to be conveyed through more official channels.

Teachers who volunteered to work with assistants were required to complete an application form which asked them to state, among other things, their experience in education which they believed would help them work successfully toward the goals of the program. Many teachers indicated that they resented having to submit these applications to an Advisory Board because the information would be evaluated by laymen as well as by professionals. A compromise was negotiated and the applications were submitted to the principal of the teacher's school.

The principals ranked the teachers in order of preference for participation in the program and submitted this list to the district superintendent. He made the final selection from these lists, with the Advisory Board holding the right of review. Had any teacher heen designated to whom the Advisory Board objected, the Board would vote whether to retain the candidate or pass on to the next teacher on the list. Actually, no teachers were rejected by the Board.

The distribution of reading assistants to the schools was changed because of the problems in recruitment of teachers. P.S. 1 and 42, the two larger schools, received eight assistants each; P.S. 2 and 126 were assigned four assistants each. Both at P.S. 1 and 2, the teachers shared the services of one reading assistant.

Assistants were recruited through circulars and by word-of-mouth. The channels of communication from the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council into the community at large proved effective in this recruitment. All applicants completed an application form designed by the Advisory Board.

Assistants were interviewed by committees of three, selected from members of the Advisory Board. The composition of these committees varied. Some had two school system members and one community member; others had one school system member and two community members.

Selection criteria included previous training and/or experience as a reading assistant; ability to produce positive personal references; residence in the neighborhood served by the four schools; and willingness to accept assignment to a school other than the one attended by the applicant's own children.

STAFF

The district superintendent named the person who had directed the two Title III District No. 3 Two Bridges Summer Remedial Reading programs as administrator of the pilot project. This man was known to the community and had worked closely with the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council in the development of the summer programs. He had been assistant principal of P.S. 1 for a number of years, and was currently attached to the District Office as coordinator of intermediate schools.

Selection of a training supervisor for reading assistants was more difficult. The community members of the Advisory Board objected to the announcement that a training supervisor had been named before the first meeting of the Advisory Board, and insisted that the position be open to all qualified applicants. In negotiations the representatives of the school system took the position that selection of the person to fill a position on this level was the prerogative of the district superintendent. The representatives of the community took the position that the functions this person would perform were so critical to the outcome of the pilot project that they should have a voice in actual selection.

The compromise finally reached was that the Advisory Board would establish the criteria for selection of this staff member, that the district superintendent would accept applications from all qualified teachers within the district and would make the selection. This process was followed and in the end the supervisor chosen was the same person to whom the representatives of the community had originally objected. This person had also worked in the Title III District No. 3 Two Bridges Summer Remedial Reading Program with reading assistants. The representatives of the community had some reservations about her candidacy, and although the reservations could not be substantiated, the attitude toward her did have an effect on the program.

TRAINING

For Reading Assistants. The month of January and the first part of February was devoted to planning through the negotiation process employed by the Advisory Board.

The district superintendent who had been strongly committed to working jointly with the community on this project died suddenly early in February. His death created a hiatus in the implementation of the project, until an acting district superintendent was named.

The person who was appointed acting superintendent had taken a public stand, the previous year, against parental involvement in school instruction, and concern was expressed at his appointment by school personnel and representatives of the community. However, both groups agreed at the end of the project that their fears had proved groundless.

The second half of February was devoted to implementing the decisions of the Board by the project staff. Training of reading assistants began on March 6. One week was allotted to this preservice training. Topics covered were orientation to the purposes of the project and the schools in which it was to operate; specific techniques of teaching reading to children, with an emphasis on phonics; basic principles of child development and learning theory; introduction to relevant reading materials; and definition of the role of the reading assistant. Reading assistants were taught how to administer the SRA Phonics Inventory as a diagnostic tool.

Throughout the program, from March through June, inservice training sessions were held for two hours each week. The content of these sessions was developed by the training supervisor based on her observations of the assistants as they worked with pupils and on her consultations with the cooperating teachers who suggested areas in which assistants needed further training. The questions which assistants raised in discussions in training sessions also suggested areas for further training.

The processes used in training included demonstration and observation, discussion, lecture, question and answer period, and supervised experiences in using techniques and materials. The training appeared to be geared to the 17 trainees who had previously had some training as reading assistants. The more experienced members of the group helped the less experienced to fill in some of the background they had missed.

Informal training continued on an individual basis throughout the project. As the training supervisor observed the assistants at work with their pupils, she would make notes for personal conference with the assistant. The cooperating teachers were also responsible for this kind of continuing informal training.

In many instances, however, the assistant worked with pupils outside the classroom, and the teacher had no opportunity to observe the assistant at work. In such cases, the teacher had to rely on questions which the assistant asked during conferences. No specified time for this procedure was built into the teachers' or assistants' working day, and both groups reported that it was difficult to find enough time for satisfactory conferences about the pupils' progress and the methods and materials the assistant was using. Another purpose of teacher-reading assistant conferences was to plan the content of the work which the assistant would undertake with each pupil. Many days these planning sessions, which usually took place before the pupils arrived in the morning, would be seriously abridged or omitted because of the pressures of other school duties on the teachers. Also, the teachers' working day began at 8:40 a.m. and the assistants' day began at 9:00 a.m. Some assistants were not able to report earlier because they had their own children to prepare for school.

THE PROGRAM IN OPERATION

In order to facilitate operation, the entire system is organized into subsystems, known as local school districts. Each district has an average of about 30 schools and 35,000 pupils.

The Four Elementary Schools in the Program. The four elementary schools in the Program in District No. 3 (one of the three experiments in community control) are P.S. 1, P.S. 2, P.S. 42, and P.S. 126. They do not constitute a recognized subsystem within District No. 3, but rather, have been forced by geographic proximity to operate in some instances as an informal subsystem. The schools themselves have populations averaging 900 pupils, prekindergarten through sixth grade.

These four schools have been designated as special service schools on the basis of such criteria as pupils' reading achievement, and percentage of pupils who speak English as a second language. Additional teachers and other personnel are allocated to them to reduce class sizes, and to provide additional teaching, guidance, supervisory and administrative services. They are also given larger allotments for purchasing textbooks and supplies than regular schools.

Functions of School Personnel. In these four schools personnel with a wide range of skills, training and potential perform a variety of functions. All personnel appear to have clearly defined roles and tend to operate within the recognized boundaries of these roles.

Each school has a principal and one or more assistant principals who assist with administrative tasks, help supervise teachers in specific curriculum areas, and help maintain discipline in the school.

The teachers perform both pupil-oriented and task-oriented functions in the classroom. Although the curriculum for each grade level is prescribed by the superintendent of schools the teacher is responsible for diagnosing the learning needs of the children assigned to him. He then designs learning experiences for these children more or less within the limits of the curriculum.

Ancillary personnel (professionals other than classroom teachers–usually operating on a school-wide basis), in the schools include guidance counselors, usually one full-time counselor in each school, a nurse who visits the school two or three days each week a dentist who visits less frequently, and curriculum coordinators who are attached to the district superintendent's office and visit the schools irregularly.

In the project, there were two levels of auxiliary personnel in these schools: school aides who operated at the entry level, and reading assistants (introduced by the pilot project) who operated at a higher level on the career ladder. School aides, an accepted part of the school personnel, are auxiliaries who work out of the principal's office and are supervised by either the principal or the assistant principal. Their functions are task-oriented: monitorial, clerical, custodial, or technical. On occasion a teacher can request that a school aide be assigned temporarily to assist him in the classroom, but no teacher has exclusive use of the services of one of the school aides.

Reading assistants on the other hand, were assigned under this project to a specific teacher. The assistant's functions were pupil-oriented, working directly with the pupil in reading instruction. In rare instances the time of one assistant was shared by two teachers on the same grade level.

The Climate of the Schools. The atmosphere within the four schools appeared somewhat similar. All four schools were characterized by purposeful activity in the classrooms. Individually, children on errands moved through the hallways carrying large wooden passes. Class groups moved in double files accompanied by a teacher.

The bulletin boards in all four school corridors displayed the children's work attractively. There appeared to be little damage done to these displays by passing children, although most stairways in the two older schools, built at the turn of the century, have been defaced by pen and pencil markings.

In all four schools the observers often heard teachers' voices raised in anger at individual children and at class groups. This occurance was frequent enough during the three months the schools were visited to be noted as a factor in the school tone. In all four schools a common sight was that of a child being banished from the classroom and made to stand in the hall.

The pupils were observed outside the school also. They displayed the usual range of demeanor of school children. It was observed, however, that very few children carried books or notebooks to or from school.

Almost all very young children–seven years and younger–were escorted to and from the schools, usually by older siblings. It seemed particularly significant to the observers that the children did not seem to segregate themselves racially or ethnically as they walked home.

The Classroom Learning Environments. In most of the classrooms observed, the number of children ranged from 25 to 31. The exception to this was a single class of 12 children with retarded mental development. The children were usually seated at double tables or individual desks. The furniture arrangements varied from formal rows of single desks to informal groupings. There were more formal arrangements observed than small groupings.

Most of the instruction was carried on by the teacher standing at her desk at the front of the room to present the lesson, then moving about as the children worked on assignments. Few teachers appeared to divide the pupils into groups for any curriculum area other than reading, when the usual three groups were used. In the few rooms where the assistant had a desk, it was a child-size desk placed in the back corner of the room. The usual pattern was for the assistant to work outside the classroom with children. Each school provided different kinds of facilities for this out-of-classroom tutoring, such as teachers' lounge or an adjacent classroom.

In all classrooms observed there appeared to be an ample supply of materials available for use by the pupils–small class libraries, collections of instructional materials, both published and teacher- or teacher assistant-produced, and child-produced materials. There seemed to be an abundance of paper, crayons, tag board, and other materials with which both assistants and children could work.

Schedule. Reading assistants worked in the schools for four hours a day, five days a week. Their day began at 9:00 a.m. and ended at 2:00 p.m. with one hour free for lunch. They received $2.50 an hour.

Each week two of these hours were devoted to training sessions, which were held at P.S. 1, and to which the assistants in the other three schools had to travel. P.S. 2 and P.S. 126 were within convenient walking distance. Assistants based at P.S. 42 traveled to P.S. 1 by bus, and were reimbursed for their carfare.

Except for time at the training sessions, each assistant worked in the school to which she was assigned. Most assistants were assigned eight children with whom to work. One half hour a day was spent with each child. Most assistants planned their work with children so that on one day they would work with two or three children in a group and the others individually. The next day, they would form a different group of two or three and work individually with the ones who had been in the group the day before. This procedure provided a small amount of preparation time for the assistant, and also allowed them to see each child on the days when training sessions were scheduled.

The Pupils. Each of the cooperating teachers selected eight children with whom an assistant was to work exclusively. The criteria used for the selection varied. Many teachers said they chose children not most seriously in need of remediation. According to one teacher, pupils were chosen who "needed that extra little push to help them start reading with confidence."

Other teachers chose children who had more serious reading difficulties, many related to the fact that English was not their first language. When an assistant was Spanish-speaking or Chinese-speaking, the teacher would usually assign a pupil who had that language as his mother tongue. In such instances the assistant worked both on phonics and vocabulary development with the pupil. The assistants rarely conducted lessons in a language other than English, but would supply words or explanations in the child's native language in order to increase comprehension and speed the learning process.

Assistants were assigned from first to sixth grade, remaining with the same grade throughout the project. Pupils ranged in age from six through twelve. However, no single assistant had more than a three-year age span of the children with whom she worked.

Teachers had been requested not to assign seriously disturbed or grossly retarded children to the assistants. The temptation for teachers to make this kind of assignment was great, since these children are usually the most difficult to manage in class, and the relief provided by their absence for one-half hour each day would be welcome. An exception was made by way of experiment, to determine whether a reading assistant could be of value in working intensively on reading readiness and language development with children with retarded mental development. There was unanimous agreement among the principal in the school, the cooperating teacher, the supervisors from the District Office, and the study observers, that this small experiment had been an unqualified success. The teacher and the assistant were highly skilled and complementary to each other, and the children benefited not only because of the individual attention of the assistant but also because the removal of one child at a time to the rear of the room to work with the assistant made it possible for the teacher to interact more easily with the ten or eleven children who remained in the body of the class.

Another exceptional group with whom one assistant worked was a class of intellectually gifted children. The teacher selected pupils in this class who had recently arrived from Hong Kong, and whose English was minimal. The assistant was an American of Chinese origin who concentrated on vocabulary development and comprehension. The teacher believed that these children, who were handicapped only by lack of facility with English, showed remarkable progress in comprehension.

Processes Used in Instruction. Each reading assistant began her work with the pupils assigned to her by administering the SRA Phonics Inventory individually to each child. The purpose of this procedure was to allow the assistant to discover for herself the needs of the child, and report her findings to the teacher and training supervisor who helped her design her approach of teaching that child. The essence of this approach was that all instruction was to be completely individualized and relevant to the pupil's particular needs. Several children in each group had similar deficits which permitted some small group instruction.

The reading assistants began working with each child on his most basic need, as determined by the diagnostic test. She progressed at the child's own speed, introducing new material only when she felt certain that the child was ready to go on. The reading assistant, in most cases, was solely responsible for determining the child's readiness to attempt new material. She was able to consult with the cooperating teacher and the training supervisor when they were available, but in the press of the day's work usually had to function comparatively autonomously.

Sometimes classroom observations of a child's progress or needs led the teacher to make suggestions to the assistant about the identified needs. These suggestions were made informally, and the assistants reported that they tried to carry them out in their sessions with the child.

At the beginning of each reading session the assistant would spend a short period of time chatting with the pupil before commencing the day's lesson. This routine was almost universally observed. The technique had been stressed in the preservice training as a method of establishing rapport with children and getting them ready to work. Assistants reported great satisfaction in getting to know their pupils through these conversations. Many assistants stated that they believed that the value of this personal individual contact was equal to the value of the work session.

Materials Used in Work Sessions. During the training sessions, both preservice and inservice, the training supervisor introduced a rich variety of materials to the assistants so that the pupils could have extensive experiences with words and reading. These materials were published materials (books, word cards, games, audiovisual aids) and assistant-produced materials (flash cards, word strips, and rexographed materials). Assistants were also encouraged to help children develop their own materials for use with the assistant and to take home with them.

Although assistants also had access to the materials in their classrooms, most chose not to rely on these materials because they believed that the children were already familiar with them, or might have experienced failure in using them. Assistants reported believing that new material was essential for use with these children so the child could approach it freely.

The introduction of some new material caused a problem during the program. Some of the assistants were continuing to participate in the training program offered by the Parents Development Program of Two Bridges Neighborhood Council. At this program these women also were being introduced to new reading materials. Some of these women borrowed PDP materials and took them to the schools for use with their pupils. Some teachers as well as the training supervisor objected to the introduction of materials other than those approved by the Board of Education. The disapproval of these materials appeared to be based on the lack of official approval, rather than upon an evaluation of the materials. The school personnel who raised the objections reported that they were not given an opportunity to evaluate the materials before they were introduced. This issue was not completely resolved during the program, and the assistants involved continued to use the materials.

Communication Among Project Personnel. Project personnel are defined as all adults involved with the pupils in the project: project administrator, training supervisor, reading assistants, classroom teachers and principals.

The project administrator, once the project was launched, did not often visit the schools. He did, however, meet continuously with the training supervisor and kept abreast of developments in the project through her reports and through conversations with the four principals of the schools involved. He communicated directly with the *Advisory* Board by attending its meetings, although he was not a member.

The training supervisor was the only member who had lines of communication to every other person in the project.

Each reading assistant had formal and informal communication with the classroom teacher with whom she worked, as well as formal and informal communication with the training supervisor.

Each teacher had formal communication with the training supervisor and the principal of his school as well as directly with the assistant assigned to pupils in the teacher's classroom. Teachers further had a communication channel to the *Advisory* Board through the two teacher representatives on the Board.

The principals had formal and informal communication with the project administrator, the training supervisor, and the teachers in their own school, but did not have communication lines directly to the reading assistants. Such communication was to be established through the training supervisor and/or the teachers.

All four principals reported that they felt limited in their involvement in the project which was direct communication with assistants, and because they were not directly represented on the *Advisory Board.*

Furthermore, because the principals are responsible to the district superintendent for all instruction which takes place within their schools and for interpreting all school programs to the community, they felt thwarted in carrying out these responsibilities when they were so far removed from the supervision of this program.

Within the school system, role prerogatives on each level seemed to be *closely* guarded and communication upwards, step by step, was generally adhered to. However, personal relationships developed and informal working relationships evolved which permitted school personnel on various levels to communicate easily and directly.

PROGRAM ANALYSIS

The Research Design. The project was evaluated by the Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education, a two-year Study conducted by Bank Street College of Education. Phase One of the Study was concerned with *role development* and *training* of auxiliary school personnel, and Phase Two with the *institutionalization* of auxiliary personnel as an integral part of the school structure. Two factors about the District No. 3-Two Bridges Project were particularly relevant to the latter phase of the Study: 1) it was financed by the Board of Education's regular budget, and 2) it dealt with reading assistants who were in the second stage of career development in that they had instruction-related functions and received more compensation than persons at the entry level.

The request of the District No. 3 staff that the Study evaluate the project was complied with, despite the fact that the research design and instrumentation for Phase Two of the Study was not finalized. It was agreed that the proposed instrumentation for interviews and process observations would be tested in the evaluation of the District No. 3-Two Bridges Pilot Project and some methods of analysis which were relevant to the particular situation would be developed as well.

The research design was formulated by the Study Team with the advice of an evaluation consultant and in cooperation with the *Advisory Board* of the project. The design was reported to the *Advisory Board* and amplified to include more analysis of communication with various elements of the community, as a result of the Board's recommendation. Cognitive testing was included at the request of the *Advisory Board,* despite the obvious limitations imposed by the short duration of the project. It was agreed that four months was an inadequate period in which to identify any substantial degree of progress in reading ability. However, the pilot nature of the project and its possible effect upon the Board of Education's planning for career development for auxiliaries within the system made it incumbent upon the project to attempt to measure the cognitive results, insofar as possible.

Purposes. The approach was essentially a descriptive analysis with emphasis on process observations and interviews. The basic purposes of Phase Two of the Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education were 1) to analyze the *impact* of the utilization of auxiliary personnel upon pupils, teachers, auxiliaries, home-school interaction and the school system, and 2) to develop and demonstrate the *process* of institutionalization of auxiliaries within a school system or subsystem.

The basic hypotheses were that 1) the utilization of trained reading assistants would have an essentially positive impact upon those involved, and 2) that the process of institutionalization of auxiliary school personnel within the system could be fortified by this experiment.

Population Studied. The primary population studied consisted of the pupils in both control and experimental groups. There were 179 pupils in the experimental group (those with whom assistants worked) and 60 pupils in the control group (children in classes in which no assistants were working). The 25 teachers involved in the project and 21 reading assistants were also studied.

The New York City public school system, the subsystem known as District No. 3, and more specifically the four elementary schools in which assistants were placed, as well as the community in which these schools were located, were all studied peripherally. That is to say, those aspects of the school system, subsystem, and community which affected and were affected by the project were analyzed.

Methodology. The independent variable was identified as the introduction of auxiliaries into the system, while four dependent variables were analyzed: 1) cognitive development of pupils; 2) affective development of pupils; 3) changes in the school system; and 4) the quality of interaction between school and community, with special reference to parents.

The cognitive development of pupils was measured by the Durrell Analysis of Reading Difficulty, parts I (oral), II (silent), and III (listening). The affective development of pupils and the quality of school-home interaction were measured through process observations and interviews. The Durrell test, essentially objective, had limited reliability because of the short duration of the project. The observations and interviews, essentially subjective, achieved a degree of objectivity through cross validation of subjective data. When consensus was discovered among persons of varying biases and points of view, the findings, though not definitely validated appeared worthy of consideration and further experimentation.

The Study Team consisted of seven staff persons. The process observations were conducted by a team of three staff persons. Two additional staff persons were involved in interviewing, one in scoring the tests, and another in conducting an analysis of variance on the results of the cognitive testing. In addition there was a testing team of two staff members and six graduate students.

The cognitive testing conditions differed in each school, and none was ideal. All children in the experimental group were tested except those in first grade, those in classes for children with retarded mental development, those in classes for intellectually gifted children, and children identified as thinking in a language other than English.

Testers were not informed which children were in the experimental group and which were in the control group. An attempt was made to assign male children to the male tester.

The control group was selected from the four schools in which auxiliaries had been placed. The pupils in this group had not worked with the assistants. Children were chosen for the control groups whose scores were comparable to those of the experimental group on the Metropolitan Achievement Test administered by the school system in October 1966.

Effects of Evaluation on Those Involved in the Project. The achievement testing had a direct bearing on the conduct of the project throughout its operation. Because all personnel involved knew that the pupils in the project were to be tested near the end of the project, the teachers did not feel free to remove a child from the group assigned to a reading assistant, even when the teacher and the assistant agreed that the child had progressed to the point where he was ready to join a classroom reading group and to be replaced by another child needing help. Further, the knowledge that each reading assistant's group of children would ultimately be tested created a certain amount of anxiety for the reading assistants because they believed that their pupils' achievement would be a reflection upon their own instructional abilities, and that their chance of future employment might be predicated upon the pupils' test scores.

Another objection to achievement testing was raised by teachers who did not have reading assistants. Some of these teachers reported that it was unfair to use children from their classes in a control group. Again the feeling seemed to be that the test scores of these pupils might in some way be used to reflect upon the instructional ability of teachers not involved in the project.

The observations, on the other hand, appeared to have slight impact. The entire personnel of the project and the principals of the four schools were informed that members of the Study Team would be in the schools frequently, observing various aspects of the project. Teachers in the project knew that the observers would visit their classrooms when the assistant was working with children elsewhere in the building and also when the assistant was present in order to discover if there were any identifiable differences in the pupil response and attitude toward reading or their school work in general as a result of the individual work with assistants.

All personnel appeared to accept the presence of observers. The reading assistants displayed some initial apprehension at being observed at work but, with time, the assistants seemed to function more comfortably in the presence of observers. Some assistants tried to explain to observers exactly what they were doing with the children and why. Observers were able to interpret to the assistants that it was not necessary to interrupt their work with children for these explanations.

Findings Regarding Cognitive Development. An analysis of variance was performed both within schools and across schools. For P.S. 2 and P.S. 126 the experimental group means exceeded the control group means. At P.S. 42 grades 3 and 4 control group means exceeded the experimental means but for grade 2 the situation was reversed. At P.S. 1, the control group means exceeded the experimental group means in all cases except grade 5. However, in none of the cases was the F-ratios significant for differences between means.

In general, for grade 2, the experimental means were higher than the control group means, but for grades 3, 4, 5, and 6, in all but two cases, the control group means were higher than the experimental group means. Once again, there were no significant F-rations for differences between means.

Ordinarily such findings imply that any differences measured on the dependent variable (for this Study, the results of the reading tests) between an experimental and control group can be attributed to chance and not to the introduction of the independent variable (the reading assistants) in the experimental situation. It seems however, that in this case the cause does not necessarily lie in the failure of the independent variable to effect change, but rather in the fact that the pupils were tested so soon after the introduction of reading assistants. In short, the analysis of variance performed does not allow conclusions to be drawn in either direction.

The search for evidence regarding the impact of auxiliaries on the pupils they served must therefore be based on the impression of various groups interviewed by the Study Team, (assistants, principals, project staff, Board members, and parents) and upon classroom observations.

Interviews. Interviews were conducted with groups of persons and individuals involved in the project. Teachers took part in group interviews in their own schools. At two schools the principal joined in the interviews. The two other principals were interviewed individually. The aides were interviewed in one group. The Advisory Board was interviewed in two groups–the school system representatives and the community representatives. Members of the community were interviewed individually in their homes. Members of Parent Associations were interviewed in small groups. The project administrator and the training supervisor were interviewed individually. Some parents of children in the program were interviewed individually.

The reaction to the total program was, on the whole, favorable. The principals thought the program had probably been beneficial enough for them to recommend its continuation, if suggested changes were implemented.

According to the reading assistants the program had made an important start toward changing some attitudes among them and among some community people toward the school. They felt the program gave reading assistants insights into the problems of the school and information about what specifically they, as parents, should work toward: smaller class size; dictionaries for non-English speaking children; more books available with interracial, interethnic pictures and stories; more bilingual teachers. They felt that the program started too late for children to get maximum benefit. However, they wanted assurance that the program would continue the following year.

Parents of the pupils in the program were glad their children had been chosen for it because they were anxious about their children's lack of progress in reading.

Some who knew a reading assistant said the assistant helped them understand how they, as parents, could help their children learn to read better.

Parents who did not speak English as a first language said they could communicate with a reading assistant who spoke the same language, and that it helped them understand their children's teacher.

Most parents expressed hope that the program would continue and that their children would remain in it.

Each group was asked, "What, in your opinion, was the main objective of such a program?"

The responses of all stressed the improvement of children's reading ability, involving the community in the education of the children, and providing employment for the indigenous poor.

When asked what evidence there was that objectives were accomplished, the response varied. The typical response of community members on the Advisory Board was that they based their opinion on individual descriptions by individual Advisory Board members of improvement in children's reading ability as reported by assistants, parents and teachers. The professionals on the Advisory Board saw evidence of parents becoming involved in their children's learning. As one said, "It is inherent in the educational process that people other than professional educators become involved. Middle-class parents have evolved methods for achieving this; this program helps poor parents do the same thing."

Members of the project staff said that teachers and the training supervisor had reported that some children showed improvement in reading proficiency, that the emotional and social growth of the children seemed enhanced by use of the reading assistants and that the children had displayed more positive attitudes toward learning and school. The Parent Association members said they could offer no actual evidence for the accomplishment of objectives, because they were not well enough acquainted with the entire program.

In identifying the main strengths of the program, the teachers, the professionals on the Advisory Board, and the project staff all mentioned first the improvement in the reading ability of the children. The principals and the community members of the Advisory Board stressed the improved working relations between community and school. In general the participants felt that the program had established and promoted better school-community relations. The community members noted the more democratic decision-making process through their representation on the Advisory Board, and felt that this representation had brought about professional accountability previously lacking. They also noted that some parents had discovered that they had allies in some of the teachers. Teachers mentioned specifically that parents who had not come to school at a teacher's invitation did come at the invitation of the reading assistant.

The project staff and professional members of the Advisory Board mentioned that the development of skills in a reading assistant plus her broader understanding of children would benefit not only the pupils, but her own children at home.

The reading assistants generally agreed that they were not as critical of school as they had been, now that they knew what the teacher's job involved and how complex it was. Approximately one-half of the reading assistants wanted to continue training to become teachers. When the possibility of a work-study program to this end was suggested, very few saw it as a real possibility because of the demands of growing families.

When parents were asked to identify any changes noted in their children's attitude toward reading, or toward learning in general, giving evidence of these changes, the following responses were often given: the child brought home school work or books which he read to his parents or to a younger sibling, which he had not previously done. Some parents said they believed their child was likely to be promoted to the next grade because his reading had improved, while before the program they doubted if that child would have been promoted.

Other parents reported improved attitudes toward learning, including willingness on the part of the child to do homework or a more intelligent approach to homework; mention was made of the child who talked with his parents about what he was learning from reading assistant, the child who seemed to enjoy work session with reading assistant, and the child who began to want to speak English at home which he had never attempted to do before. One child had changed his career ambition from pop singer to reading assistant "because my assistant is so nice with children."

Reading assistants spoke of the functions they most liked to perform. The functions most often mentioned were: working with an individual child; building self-confidence of child; having responsibility for thinking out new ways of presenting lessons; observing children closely in order to determine what they were learning.

When asked what they believed to be the blocks to children's learning, they noted: insufficient individual attention to children in a classroom of from 25 to 30 children; constant repetition of work for slower children which bores brighter children who then "tune out" or "act up"; the need for success and recognition in all children is not met for slower children, who then try to get attention by misbehaving.

"Why do you think the community (or the parents) wanted such a program?" was another question asked of all participants.

Both the community people and the professional members of the Advisory Board, and the project staff felt that the community had known of the success of the Title III District No. 3-Two Bridges Summer Remedial Program and wanted the benefits of such a program in their schools during a regular school year. Both groups of the Advisory Board mentioned that it provided a way of involving the community in the schools, and also of capitalizing on the newly-developed skills of neighborhood women.

Teachers were asked what they thought was the need that led to the development of the program. They mentioned the need to improve children's reading ability, the need to provide employment for poor persons in the community, and the need to improve communications between school and community.

The program, they said also, allowed the teacher to suggest individual skills for the reading assistants to work on with children in the program. However, little change in teacher behavior with the rest of the children was reported, and supervision of the reading assistant may have cut down on time the teacher actually taught other children, some said.

Regarding changes if the program were to be continued, the participants were largely in agreement that administrative procedures needed improvement, and that assistants needed a longer period of preservice training, and that recruitment should be made community-wide. The need for more inservice training of teachers and assistants was also stressed.

Parents Association members, teachers, principals, project staff, and professional members of the Advisory Board suggested that community members of the Board be representative of the entire community rather than of one particular group. They also recommended that assistants with faulty speech be given remediation on the job, or not be selected.

Principals were joined by teachers and professional members of the Advisory Board in stating that the principal should have greater involvement in the program in his school.

Provision for upward mobility with continued work and study, and the establishment of a career ladder were recommended by members of the project staff and community members of the Advisory Board.

The project staff made two other suggestions for change: roles for both teachers and assistants should be more clearly defined, and the Parents Association should have representation on the Advisory Board.

To the question, "Do you believe that there are any decisions, which should be made by professionals exclusively?" the typical response of the community members of the Advisory Board was that there may be final decisions which have to be made by professionals, but the thinking of the community must be considered before decisions are made.

Regarding factors which would facilitate institutionalization of the program, the professional members of the Advisory Board recommended continued commitment of "hard funds" (monies from the Board of Education operating budget) to the program rather than funding by outside agencies.

Affective Development of Pupils. Social and emotional aspects of child behavior and functioning appear to have been affected positively by the introduction of reading assistants. This finding is supported by teachers' descriptions of change in pupil responses in the classroom, as well as by observations of the Study Team. For example, a considerable number of children appeared to display more classroom "savoir faire" after they had worked with assistants for a time. They seemed to be able to operate more independently. It was noted that children in the experimental group seemed to understand better what was expected of them in the classroom than they had before the experience, and tried to adapt themselves to these expectations. Parents reported the aided children spent more time at homework and spoke more of school than previously.

The self-images of the ethnically varied children seem to have been improved by seeing in the reading assistant a person of their own background and experience, functioning in an educational position of some responsibility. Support for this finding comes not only from observations of pupils, but also from interviews with the parents of pupils in the program and the reading assistants.

Two types of children, in particular, appeared to benefit from the individual attention. The first of these were the shy, withdrawn pupils whose mode of behavior made their reading difficulties less obvious in the classroom situation. In the large group situation they had tended to receive less attention from the teachers than those children whose behavior demanded more of the teachers' time. The individual attention of the reading assistant and the formation of a closer relationship with a helpful adult appeared to instill in these shy children a greater degree of confidence toward approaching the task of reading. The other children who appeared to benefit most were those who lacked proficiency in English. When such children were assigned to reading assistants who spoke their mother tongue as well as English, the children appeared to gain confidence in their ability to communicate in English, perhaps because they knew they could express themselves either in Spanish or Chinese to the assistant if they could not find the English words they needed. It appeared that such increased self-confidence in speaking English affected their approach to reading also. The increased participation in classroom activities by these two groups was evident in the number of times they attempted to answer questions when called on by the teacher, the number of times they volunteered to speak in class, and their markedly improved willingness to read orally before the class or a reading group.

The work habits of almost all pupils in the experimental group appeared to improve as a result of working with reading assistants. This change was noticeable among the children throughout the whole elementary age range.

School-Community Communications. One of the purposes of the Study was to determine whether the institutionalization of reading assistants in the four schools would change the patterns of communication between the school and the community. New factors were introduced which might effect such change, such as the involvement of reading assistants who were themselves members of the community into the school system, and the establishment of an Advisory Board which included community representatives.

The reading assistants had no formal lines of communication to the community. Some members of the community knew they were employed at the school, but, in general, the community continued to perceive the reading assistants as friends, neighbors, or acquaintances. Reading assistants reported that they did interpret to their friends and neighbors what it was they were trying to do with the pupils, and in some cases how the other school personnel worked with pupils. They reported that they believed these friends and neighbors were more receptive to the reading assistants' interpretation of the school than they would have been to the same message from most professionals within the system. They indicated also that when the reading assistant spoke the same language as the friend or neighbor with whom she was talking, particularly Chinese or Spanish, receptivity on the part of the community person was vastly increased, even though in most schools there is someone on the school staff who can communicate in a language other than English. The reason advanced for this statement was that the school staff member speaks formal Spanish or Chinese and the neighborhood resident feels inadequate because his speech is often dialect or patois. Such attitudes were also reported among English-speaking members of the community. Assistants said parents in the neighborhood often tend to "freeze up" when talking with the principal or teacher because they fear they will make errors in grammar or pronunciation.

Outside of school the parents of children in the project occasionally sought out a reading assistant whom they knew to be working with their child or working in the same school their child attended, to talk about his progress, or about difficulties the child might be having in the school. The reading assistants reported that they welcomed these opportunities to talk with parents, but claimed that they always spoke as friends or neighbors and not as "official school representatives." They said they were called on chiefly to interpret how the school worked, and not to intercede for a particular child. Assistants reported admitting freely to these parents that they could not change anything in the school and advising the parents not to be afraid to seek out the teacher or the principal to discuss the issues they raised.

Another kind of communication to the community at large is typified by the following report of a conversation a reading assistant had with her neighborhood butcher, who lived in the community and whose children attended the local parochial school.

"I hear you're working at the school now, Mrs. B. How can you stand it? It's a pretty awful place, isn't it?"

"Not at all. The children I'm working with are learning to read. I can see progress every day."

"But don't you have trouble? Those kids are a wild lot. I see 'em when they come out of school."

"No wilder than mine or yours, Mr. S. I'll have two pounds of chopped meat."

This kind of exchange may not change the attitude of the butcher, but it does give him a chance to hear a different point of view. Such persons in the community do not have the opportunity to discuss their attitudes and feelings about the school with any professional members of the school staff who do not live in the community, do not shop there, and have very few informal contacts there.

The community representatives on the Advisory Board had both formal and informal channels of communication with many persons in the community. Formal communication was established between these Board members and the rest of the community through membership on various committees and in the Two Bridges News, the publication of the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council.

The informal communication was carried on in much the same manner as that between reading assistants and members of the community except that the members of the Advisory Board tended to be extremely verbal and have a multiplicity of informal community contacts. The differences between their communication with the community and that of the reading assistants therefore was a difference in numbers of people reached, in ability to express ideas and attitudes forcefully, and in the strength of their status as recognized leaders in the community. The fact that these persons were recognized community leaders meant that some members of the community at large sought them out to initiate discussions about the school. These Advisory Board members reported that most persons in the community did not actually know much about the project and that many did not even know that such a project existed. They knew something new was going on at the schools and they asked about what it was and how it was going to affect their children. Such persons rarely ever entered a school to ask a similar question of the principal or even of the teacher of their child.

Communication to and from the community was affected in an unexpected way within the school building after the introduction of reading assistants. Several assistants reported that as they moved through the school building they would encounter mothers they knew who had been speaking to professional school personnel about their children. The mother would recount the conference to the reading assistant and ask for the assistant's advice, either about what steps the mother should take concerning her child, or for suggestions as to how she should have handled the interview. Most reading assistants admitted that they gave advice to the parents, but reported that they did not feel this was the important point. What was important was that they were there to provide a friendly ear at a difficult moment. All assistants recounting this kind of experience said they could remember situations concerning their own children in school where they wished they had had a friend in the school with whom they could talk things over.

This situation was formalized by the schools in a number of instances when an assistant who spoke the parent's language fluently was invited to serve as an interpreter during a conference between the parent and a member of the school faculty. One non-English speaking parent was reported as requesting the school secretary to summon Mrs. X, a reading assistant, to the office to help her convey her message to her child's teacher.

Changes in the Subsystem. The principal change in personnel functions was the addition of new functions, rather than any difference in those previously performed. This may have been because most assistants did not work in the classroom but worked separately with each child. The new function performed by reading assistants included tutoring in phonics for individual pupils, daily conversations in English with an interested and supportive adult on a one-to-one basis, and daily reinforcement of work habits and study skills on an individual basis.

The cooperating teachers, in most cases, performed some new functions: reviewing with assistants the progress of children with whom the assistants were working, and helping the assistants to plan further work with the pupils. However, the nature of the Project limited the extent to which the teacher performed these new functions. Since most assistants and pupils worked in a room other than the classroom while the teachers continued to teach, the teachers had little or no opportunity to supervise the assistant at work. Nor was time specifically scheduled for conferences between teachers and assistants.

The project appeared to have some effect on the total school system in that since the inception of this pilot project the superintendent of schools has appointed a person attached to the Bureau of Personnel to plan a system-wide program for the development of a career line for nonprofessionals. Prior to the introduction of reading assistants in this project, the use of nonprofessionals in the New York City public schools had focused primarily on school-aides who were limited to task-oriented, noninstructional functions. It would appear that this project, in company with a small number of other projects which prepare nonprofessionals to perform a function directly related to pupils in the areas of instruction and guidance, had contributed to the fairly rapid movement of the school system toward career development for nonprofessionals. Another factor which has undoubtedly contributed to this development is the new careers movement which is being supported nation-wide by recent acts of Congress, by OEO and other government agencies, and by community leadership.

It is significant that this pilot project, insofar as information is available, is one of the few in the entire country supported by monies from the budget of the school system. Such investment in the program may have helped speed further institutionalization of auxiliary personnel within the system.

The effects on school-community relations were varied. A major positive effect was negotiations developed by representatives of the school staffs and representatives of the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council. The confrontation as parents and community leaders begin to make new demands on the schools is often traumatic. The success of the negotiations in this instance appeared to be due to the existence of a balance of power and a willingness to give a bit on both sides. Too often in the past, parents have negotiated from weakness: lack of status, lack of know-how, lack of communication skills. All too frequently in the past, both sides have taken inflexible positions. The meaningful interaction among the various factions on the Advisory Board may have been due to several factors: 1) both sides seemed to believe in the premise of the project—that reading assistants could help children learn to read; 2) both the school personnel and members of the community had observed and/or experienced the operation of a similar project for two summers in the Title III Remedial Reading Project; 3) before negotiations began the Two Bridges Education Committee submitted the proposal to the district superintendent and his staff for comment, suggestions, and change, so that the preplanning was cooperative; and 4) each group had one person who functioned as liaison to the other group and kept communication lines open and operating. The community coordinator for District No. 3 served this function for the school system, and the senior staff person at Two Bridges Neighborhood Council served the same function for the community.

It would seem that while this model of school-community interaction—protagonists negotiating in the management-labor tradition—did appear to work in this instance, it does not represent the ideal model of school-community cooperation. It is possible that successful negotiation represents a first, and necessary step since the school establishment and the members of the community seem to be so far apart. However, it is hoped that ultimately the process may lead from opposing forces negotiating toward compromise to two strong forces cooperating in advocating the right of all children to learn.

Evaluation of the Project in Terms of Its Objectives. Although the specific objectives of this pilot project were not defined in the initial proposals, inferences could be drawn from this proposal as to their nature. They appeared to be: 1) to use the existing skills of a cadre of trained reading assistants who were themselves neighborhood residents to work in the schools with individual children in need of remediation in reading, particularly in phonics; 2) to improve the reading ability of these children; 3) to provide further training for the reading assistants, hopefully leading to meaningful and continued employment.

Since objectives had not been formally stated, one of the questions asked of various participants in the program by the Study Team was: "What do you believe to be the objectives of this project?" The responses received are given in the reports of each interview.

Table XVI which follows, lists these in rank order of importance.

It appears significant that all groups responding, except the professional members of the Advisory Board, ranked "To improve the reading ability of children" first. The professional members of the Advisory Board ranked a similar, but more general purpose as most important: "To help children learn."

"To provide employment for poor persons of the community" was mentioned as an objective of the program by all groups except the principals and the community members of the Advisory Board. It appears worth noting that although this was frequently mentioned and given high rank, it was not even alluded to as a possible objective of the proposed project. Interestingly, the principals did not mention this as an objective, possibly because in every instance the principals identified the reading assistants as "parents" rather than as "disadvantaged persons," "poor people," or "culturally deprived"–designations which were often used by the teachers, the project staff, and professional members of the Advisory Board tended to identify the reading assistants as "community members," "parents," or "neighbors."

The other responses deal in a variety of ways with school-community relations and parental involvement in education. It would seem that the process used–involvement of the community in the planning and carrying out of a school system financed project–made emphasis on school-community relations a prime objective.

IMPLICATIONS

1. The involvement of the community in decision making in the field of education appears most effective when there is balance of power, mutual respect, and willingness to give on both sides.
2. Slow readers seem to respond quickly and positively to one-to-one tutoring by reading assistants from the pupil's neighborhood insofar as the affective outcome is concerned, as revealed by: increased participation in class discussion, mention of school at home–previously a topic avoided by these pupils, willingness to study, and attitudinal stance toward school, teachers and other pupils.
3. Slow readers seem to need considerable time to translate these affective changes into cognitive gains.
4. Early involvement of, and continuing relationship with principals appears to be vital to the effectiveness of a reading assistant program.

TABLE XVI

OBJECTIVES OF PROGRAM AS PERCEIVED BY PERSONS INTERVIEWED

				Rank Order of Responses		
Question: What do you believe the objectives of this project to be?	Teachers	Principals	Project Staff	Prof. Mbrs. Adv. Bd.	Comm. Mbrs. Adv. Bd.	Mbrs. Parents Assns.
To improve the reading ability of children in program	1st*	1st*	1st		1st	1st
To provide employment for poor persons of the community	1st*		3rd	4th		2nd
To get neighborhood parents into the schools to see what is going on		1st*				
To help children learn				1st		
To improve communication between school and community	2nd					
To involve parents in the educaton of their own children			2nd	3rd		
To help poor parents discover specific techniques for involving themselves in their children's learning				2nd		

* Teachers and principals indicated these objectives were of prime importance and of equal weight
Note: Blank boxes indicate these objectives were not mentioned.

5. Voluntary participation by teachers tends to enhance the team relationship of teachers and reading assistants.
6. The absence of a person in each school who was both responsible and accountable for the program was noted and deplored by faculty, assistants and parents. It was believed that the project director could not adequately provide counseling, training, liaison with the principal and also serve as advocate for the auxiliaries when attempting to serve four schools simultaneously.
7. One-to-one tutoring, though important in itself, is only one aspect of an overall approach involving curriculum, process and the total learning environment. This new component requires, for most significant outcomes, a reassessment of all roles and new approaches to education.
8. One highly important aspect of the program in the Two Bridges Area was the benefit which appeared to accrue to pupils who were learning English as a second language when they were given personalized assistance from one who spoke their own language.
9. Unresolved within the New York City School System was the controversy over whether a reading assistant who lacked basic education might, by providing a poor speech model for the pupils, deter rather than enhance the children's learnings. The decision by the Board of Education to require a high school diploma or its equivalent for educational assistants would seem to suggest concurrence with the point of view that those who assist in the teaching of reading should present a good speech model to pupils. However, the trend toward more direct contact with pupils even at the entry level for the aides who lack high school diplomas would seem to support the other point of view that constructive interaction with pupils is more important to learning than didactic instruction or even speech models. Based on observations and analysis of the pilot program the Study staff opts for the second point of view.
10. This pilot program was one facet of many new developments within and outside the school system, all stressing the need for utilizing as true partners in education persons who lack traditional certification. Ultimately, a career ladder was established, with sequential job opportunities leading to and beyond the professional level. Training was made available on a work-study basis for upward mobility at each stage of the career development through the cooperation of the City University. New York City shares with Minneapolis, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Philadelphia, among other large cities, the acceptance and implementation of the carrer ladder concept.
11. The fact that funds were provided from the Board of Education budget was significant because the use of hard funds for this purpose is unusual throughout the country and may serve as a model. This investment by the Board of Education gave status to

the program, helped to motivate the participants, and make more likely the careful consideration of the results of the program by decision makers in the Board.

12. This experience in school-community cooperation may have facilitated the subsequent selection of the Two Bridges Area as one of three experimental districts for community control of the schools.
13. The project was inconclusive in some areas but contributed to meaningful growth in others, particularly with respect to the individual development of the reading assistants and the pupils they tutored, and the creation of a career ladder within the school system—a significant aspect of institutionalization of auxiliary personnel in education.

A major reading project announced by the New York City Board of Education for the summer and fall of 1968, places one "Educational Auxiliary" in each classroom. The auxiliary, especially trained to improve reading skills, works in this project as part of a team which includes parents and teachers. The teachers also receive training to work as team colleagues. The auxiliaries will organize parents' study groups so that parents themselves can improve their own reading skills.

The $600,000 project will be carried out in cooperation with the Behavioral Research Laboratories in Palo Alto, California, and will reach 40,000 New York City children.

OVERVIEW OF THE AUXILIARY EDUCATIONAL CAREER PROGRAM IN THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

Wilton Anderson, Director

The demonstration project in the Two Bridges Area and the NYU study were converging forces and factors which led to the creation of an Auxiliary Educational Career Unit (AECU) in the New York City Board of Education. The AECU was established in the Office of Personnel of the Board of Education so that a centrally coordinated and administrated Educational Careers Program could be implemented. The program is a joint enterprise of the Board of Education and the Human Resources Administration of New York City with the participation of the various colleges of the City University of New York.

An Educational Career Program was begun in the fall of 1967 in selected schools (those receiving Title I assistance), located in areas of the city with the greatest concentration of poverty children. The Board of Education authorized the employment of 1,000 neighborhood residents as Educational Assistants in kindergarten classes in schools with Strengthened Early Childhood Programs. The purpose of this special program was to assure the maximum growth of young children in the acquisition of cognitive skills and healthy self-concepts. In addition to the improvement of the teaching-learning process, this program was specifically designed to provide and implement a career-oriented inservice training program for selected auxiliary personnel, offer higher educational opportunities for those low-income residents through the City University, and conduct regular inservice training for the participating professionals.

The end of the school term, June 1968, marked the completion of the first full year of operation of this special program which provided initial orientation and inservice training for more than 2,000 professionals and paraprofessionals. The course content, methods and materials were specifically designed to implement the objectives of the Career Ladder Program. Paraprofessionals received special training on school time, and teachers and auxiliaries met jointly for regular after-school sessions. Auxiliaries were trained in job-related and other skills, while the classroom team (teacher and auxiliary) participated in sessions including role development and sensitivity training.

In the fall of 1968, approximately 2,000 additional education assistant positions were created to implement the Strengthened Early Childhood Program for grades one and two of eligible schools (Title I, and those special service schools which were in the Strengthened Early Childhood Program in 1967-68).

As of the fall of 1968, more than 850 educational assistants were enrolled in the colleges of the City University under this special program. Incorporated in the program are continuous review and improvement, and ongoing evaluation. The research procedures include interviews, observations, questionnaires and checklists involving principals, teachers and auxiliaries.

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
AUXILIARY EDUCATIONAL CAREER UNIT

THE CAREER LADDER CONCEPT

TITLE–SALARY	QUALIFICATIONS	TRAINING	JOB DESCRIPTION
*APPRENTICE-INTERN-TEACHER	3 yrs college 2 semesters as Educational Assistant	Auxiliary Personnel	Assists in instruction of assigned class
*EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATE	2 yrs college (60 Credits) 2 semesters as an Educational Assistant	in all positions on The Career Ladder	Assumes increasing responsibilities with minimal direction from the teacher
EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANT $2.50 per hour	60 college credits	receive initial	Assists classroom teacher with monitorial, clerical and instructional tasks
$2.25 per hour	High School Diploma or Equivalency Diploma	on-going in-service	
EDUCATIONAL TRAINEE Stipend by funding agencies	Minimum-equivalent of 8th grade education	training	Assists with monitorial and clerical tasks

* Projected titles, not yet approved, and not designed to go into the Civil Service classification, but rather into the Pedagogical classification.

XI. OVERALL RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON THE STUDY

These recommendations are based on five premises. There is increasing evidence in research and demonstration programs to support these premises. The recommendations were developed from state-wide conferences in Colorado, Kentucky, Massachusetts and New York.

Premise: That the involvement of persons with a wide range of skills, training, experience, background and potential may provide a better learning environment than the assignment of all educational tasks in a classroom to one person who, alone, must attempt to meet the individual needs of many pupils.

In order to involve persons with a wide range of skills, training, experience and background in the learning environment in such a manner as to realize their maximum potential, the following practices are highly recommended:

- That the role of auxiliaries be twofold, including sharing of routine tasks and providing personalized attention and assistance to pupils.
- That there be team training of auxiliaries and the professionals with whom they work, part of such training to be for each group separately and part of it for auxiliaries and professionals *together*, as they develop new roles and relationships.
- That training include preservice orientation of all concerned including administrators, parents and pupils, as well as inservice training which is continuing, comprehensive, and available on a work-study basis.
- That role definition should not be so rigid as to preclude role development. Role definition may provide limits, but within those limits there should be flexibility so that each professional-auxiliary team may develop roles which fit their particular situation.
- That time be scheduled for each professional-auxiliary team to review their experiences and plan together.
- That a coach-counselor-trainer-supervisor be appointed to be responsible and accountable for the auxiliary program in each school where a sizeable number of such personnel are employed. The role of the coach would be to develop both the program and the people involved in it, to handle administrative matters, to provide liaison between the auxiliaries and the school authorities, to handle grievances, and generally to serve as the advocate of the auxiliary within a given school.

Premise: That participation in the learning-teaching process of persons from the neighborhood served by the school, particularly parents, may increase home-school-child interaction.

To encourage meaningful participation in the learning-teaching process by persons from the neighborhood served by the school, particularly in disadvantaged areas, it is recommended:

- That selection criteria and procedures be designed to discover latent talent; to "screen in," rather than "screen out" those who have lacked opportunity and/or incentive to develop their potential thus far; and to identify those human qualities which studies have shown are more likely to be predictive of success as an auxiliary than the number of years of prior schooling.
- That, although those who are employed with anti-poverty funds must be at or below the poverty level, a person should *not* be employed simply because he is poor. He should be employed only if he appears to possess those personal traits which are deemed important in wholesome and constructive relations with children and youth. This recommendation is consistent with the primary goal of any educational program, i.e., to improve the quality of education.
- That parents of children enrolled in the school be sought out as potential auxiliaries so as to help in making the style of life in home and school more harmonious, help the parents in understanding and contributing to the school's educational goals for children, help school people understand how parents view the school and also discover more about the children's learning needs, and finally, facilitate communication between the school and other parents in the community.

Premise: That broad community involvement in planning educational programs may contribute materially to the social relevance of such planning—i.e., relevance to the needs, interests and real concerns of the school population.

To achieve broad community involvement in planning, it is recommended:

That a School-College-Community Advisory Committee be appointed by the administrator of the sponsoring institution(s) of every auxiliary program, to advise on this program alone, rather than using an existing group which may give low priority to career development for auxiliaries.

- That such a committee include school personnel at all levels, including auxiliary personnel, representatives of institutions of higher learning and other institutions, agencies or projects which offer comprehensive training programs for auxiliaries, and a sufficient representation of parents not employed in the school and of community representatives so that they have a sense of true participation.
- That the initial functions of such committees be to assist in

clarifying goals, identifying problems, and spelling out specific strategies to move toward the goals and cope with the problems.

• That the committees serve thereafter as a mechanism for continuing dialogue among the various groups concerned with career development for auxiliaries.

• That the recommendations of such committees be given sincere and thoughtful consideration in a climate wherein there exist balance of power, mutual respect, and a willingness on both sides to give a bit—the essentials of successful negotiation.

Premise: That the opportunity of career development for auxiliaries may serve to motivate them in two distinct but interrelated ways: in terms of their personal growth and ability to cope with life situations, and in terms of their increased competence on the job.

In order to motivate auxiliaries toward personal growth and increased competence on the job, it is recommended:

• That an occupational track be established for auxiliaries with fixed line items in the budget for each occupational level, alternate routes from nonprofessional to professional roles, annual salary, tenure, increments, social security, fringe benefits, and the availability of training on a work-study basis leading to advancement.

• That upward mobility be possible for those who have the ability and the desire to advance on the job, but *not* compulsory. There should be recognition and respect for the dignity and validity of every task at every level. Even at the entry level, jobs should be meaningful in terms of the basic goals of education.

• That an overall plan be developed, so that working conditions and compensation will be comparable in all areas where auxiliaries are utilized, such as: instruction, guidance, home-school interaction, library, and general school services.

• That the right of incumbents to promotional opportunity be protected, when new programs and new recruitment procedures are instituted.

Premise: That the establishment of a new career line for auxiliaries may foster career development for the total educational enterprise, with new leadership roles at various occupational levels and increased motivation for professional growth throughout the system.

To foster career development for the total educational enterprise, it is recommended:

• That the concept of career development be accepted as an overall objective in education, not limited to any one group or category of school personnel.

• That planning in depth be instituted so as to move toward that objective.

XII. OVERALL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

> The newly emerging individual can attain some degree of stability and eventually become inured to the burdens and strains of an autonomous existence only when he is offered abundant opportunities for self-assertion and self-realization. He needs an environment in which achievement, acquisition, sheer action, or the development of his capacities and talents seem within easy reach. It is only thus that he can acquire the self-confidence and self-esteem that make an individual existence bearable or even exhilarating.
>
> –*Eric Hoffer*

It is the privilege of individuals who have been involved in a study not only to make recommendations based on the findings but also to spell out certain implications for education as a whole. The observations presented in this section are made in the context of new demands, new approaches and new potentials in American education today.

As persons with a wide range of skills, training, experience, and potential are asked to engage in the educational enterprise together, new modes of interaction are essential. The focus is upon the role of the school as an enabling factor in the learning of children and youth. This focus requires that the adults, too, must perceive themselves as learners. With an openness to learning by teacher, auxiliary and pupils alike, each may contribute in his own way to an evolving process, which goes far beyond skill training and information giving. The latter provide necessary tools for learning but the ultimate objective is to help each individual develop the inner strength to cope with life situations as they are, and the imagination and courage to move toward a new human condition.

This emphasis upon learning, rather than teaching, is based on recognition of the salient fact that when there is no learning, there has been in fact no teaching. Moreover, learning does not cease as the pupil leaves the classroom. Learning takes place in the street, in the alley, in the home, before the television set, in the supermarket, in the park, in the hallways, in the poolroom, and in the houses of detention for juvenile offenders. Life crackles with learning opportunities. The school must compete for the child's attention while offering him a curriculum which has changed only slightly during a half century of gargantuan social change. The school frequently offers an irrelevant curriculum with a highly structured, repressive environment unrelated to the world of the child.

If, in such an environment, a bored or nonresponding pupil does not read at grade level, he has customarily been written off as a failure. Today parents are saying that it is the schools which have failed. School people respond by saying that many children come to school each day lacking the basic physical care and emotional stability which make learning in an academic setting possible. Parents and school people then ask together whether society has failed.

Meantime, children and youth are learning that: 1) material possessions have high value as status symbols; 2) many of the youth of today are denied legitimate means of access to these material rewards; 3) illegitimate means of access to these same possessions are all too open to these youth, and 4) violence is an immediate and often successful recourse for acquiring possessions, settling an argument, attracting attention, or, for that matter, surviving in the streets of the inner city.

For each group to blame the other for what children and youth are learning and what they are not learning appears of little avail. Instead, a team approach may be needed, in which school and community, as partners, plan not only for the pupils but with the pupils.

The goals of such a team concept are: first to establish rapport and mutual trust between school, home and child; then to create a learning environment in the school which is rich, varied and alive; next, to analyze each pupil's behavior within the environment so as to identify his needs, his interests, his anxieties, his goals—conscious and unconscious—his learning style, his modes of attacking a problem, and his apparent feelings toward self and others. The final step in the process is to restructure the environment, while providing the medley of supportive services that are needed, as the learner relates his strivings to an educational task which is consonant with his own goals, and at the same time replete with opportunity for his growth and development. This process, to be maximally effective, must be repeated ad infinitum, with continuous feedback from analysis and incessant restructuring of the environment as new needs and new potentials are identified.

Obviously, the learning environment thus conceived is more than four walls and some equipment. It includes all that the pupil sees, hears, feels and experiences—including the people with whom he interacts. Still more obviously, the structuring of the environment to meet individual needs would be difficult, if not impossible, for one person to accomplish all alone in a classroom of 30, or even with as few as 15 pupils.

Hence, differentiated education requires differentiated staff. This does not refer merely to levels of authority within the school hierarchy. It refers to differentiation in life experience as well as work experience, thus bringing to the school environment variety and vigor. When the team includes persons from the community served, there is closeness to the lives of the pupils themselves which enriches and enlivens the school climate.

Such a team goes far beyond the concept of "team teaching," i.e., more than one certified teacher cooperating in the instruction to a given group of pupils. This team starts where all education is centered—with the pupils. As a team member, the classroom teacher needs to develop his new role in partnership with auxiliary personnel (i.e., those who lack traditional certification) as they, together, structure an environment in which each pupil may find the means and the motivation for learning. The teacher is concerned with his responsibility to further the auxiliary's competencies and his own, as well as those of the pupils. He also concentrates on his reciprocal relationship with the guidance counselor, the curriculum specialist, the home-school coordinator and the other specialists whose insights and expertise support and extend the classroom experience. These ancillary personnel may assist in devising new classroom materials, procedures and techniques and in diagnosing the social and learning needs of particular children, but the teacher must orchestrate their efforts with those of the classroom team–the teacher, auxiliary and pupils. The supervisor, in a consultative role, and the principal, in a policy role, both reinforce new relationships and new approaches in education. Most importantly, the deeply involved parent contributes intimate knowledge of the child. Moreover, the parent, when aware of the school's goals, encourages movement toward them in the child's out-of-school life.

The dynamics of team action in an educational milieu requires that each team member see his role in terms of increasing the learning potential of the school environment, and utilizing the skills of others as well as his own toward that end.

Each teacher-auxiliary team in such a constellation is not an isolated, disparate entity but an organic part of a goal-oriented operation. A team that functions cohesively and effectively has a life of its own. It is, essentially, a self-learning organism.

As the team develops a composite self, the members of the team become less self-oriented. Role prerogatives, ego satisfactions to be derived from teaching, and specialties which divide rather than coalesce are minimized. Each person's contribution to the common endeavor is maximized by:

1. Understanding and acceptance of what is being attempted.
2. Open and honest relationships with children, adolescents, and other adults, including openness to suggestions from others.
3. A functional knowledge of self and a concomitant reduction of defensiveness.
4. Enlarged perceptions of the surrounding world–the social, political and economic context in which the school performs an ever evolving role.
5. Coping strengths in self which, in turn, facilitate the development of coping strengths in children and youth.
6. Recognition of the continuing need for self-development by each member of the team, in terms of increasing the general knowledge, competencies and insights required for productivity at their respective tasks.

7. A genuine commitment to the goals of the team and to participation with others toward those goals.

These are the attitudes and qualities which enhance the contribution of all team members. In addition, there are special competencies required by each of the levels of authority and differentiated roles.

For Administrators:

1. Skill in staff development through the consultative process, and through techniques of supporting interaction among members of the staff.
2. Skill in articulating a team operation and supplying administrative support to new roles and approaches.
3. Skill in working with Boards of Education, parent-advisory groups, community organizations, and less organized "pressure" components of society.

For Professionals (other than Administrators):

1. Skill in analyzing one's own role in an evolving team situation, with recognition of the added leadership function: as professionals they are called upon to orchestrate all resources, human and material, to meet the needs of individual pupils.
2. Skill in utilizing the other members of the team, in identifying individual needs and in structuring and restructuring a learning environment which is relevant to the needs, interests, desires and expectations of pupils.
3. Skill in recognizing the potential in auxiliaries assigned to assist in the area of their own responsibility, and in helping to develop that potential.
4. Skill in function analysis so that roles will evolve as new needs emerge and new capacities are developed by various team members.

For Auxiliaries:

1. Skill in relating to others in a learning environment involving understanding of the goals, structure, organizational patterns, roles, channels of communication and staff responsibilities in the school life, and a realization of new potentials for learning as they team with others.
2. Skill in identifying the successive stages of human development and the relationship of the school experience to the physiological, intellectual, social and artistic development of children and youth.
3. Skill in fostering communication and interpretation between home and school so as to reduce home-school alienation and avoid the negative impact upon learning which ensues when the child is torn by conflicting values and divergent child-rearing practices.
4. Skill in developing a multiple role, including a) the ability to share routine tasks which must be performed; b) understanding of the learning process which will enable the auxiliary to contribute

directly to the total development of children and youth; c) the ability to cooperate with other team members without undue doubts and suspicions; and d) the capacity for personal development both in relation to the school setting, and in relation to the total society, its tensions, trends, and potential reciprocities.

5. Specific skills related to the learning-teaching process, including: observational skills, listening skills, skills in small group leadership, organizational skills, skills in both method and content which facilitate learning directly, and mechanical skills which support learning indirectly.
6. Skills in basic communication such as a) reading: increasing reading rate, reading to find the main ideas; b) writing: taking messages, outlining and organizing material, writing reports; c) oral skills: improving diction, sharpening auditory discrimination, speaking on the telephone.
7. Understanding the requirements of the world of work, including such areas as: attitude toward holding a job, promptness, personal grooming, responsibility, and establishing rapport with co-workers.

For the Trainers in Team Training Situations:

1. Ability to analyze and assess the classroom, the learning setting for children and the strengths and weaknesses of members of the teaching team in order to develop a plan of action for bringing about change.
2. Ability to pace and time the introduction of ideas among teachers, auxiliaries and others on the teaching team in order to encourage personalization and continuing growth in curriculum development.
3. Ability to enhance group interaction to bring about solutions to educational problems as they affect children and those adults with whom they are working on the teaching team.
4. Ability to verbalize complicated ideas in such a way that the communication system will remain open within the teaching team.
5. Facility to serve as role model in bringing about change.

In conclusion, one might ponder on Frederick Nietzche's statement that "the world seems logical to us because we have made it logical." When this remark is applied to roles and new modes of interaction in the school, it suggests that traditional patterns appear right to those who have evolved them. The real question is whether they are effective–that is to say are they helping the school staff enable the child to learn?

The introduction of auxiliary personnel, when they are appropriately selected, trained, utilized and institutionalized, does not need to result in merely "more of the same." It can stimulate a reassessment of all the roles of the school. It can help to apply the concept of career development to the total educational enterprise. It can contribute to institutional and social changes of some magnitude.

Marianne Moore once wrote: "A wind moves through the grass, then all is as it was." With the introduction of auxiliary personnel in the schools, the institution of education will not be as it was before.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ADVISORY COMMISSION

PHASE ONE

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Director, Center for Research in Social Behavior
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University of Pittsburgh

GLADYS COLLINS
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Virginia State College

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National Education Association

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The Ford Foundation

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Illinois Teachers College

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Women's Talent Corps
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in Madison County
Canton, Mississippi

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Associate Commissioner
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University of Kentucky

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The University of the State
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APPENDIX II

STAFF OF THE STUDY OF AUXILIARY PERSONNEL IN EDUCATION

Core Staff

Gordon J. Klopf	Director
Garda W. Bowman	Research and Program Coordinator
Lodema Burrows	Editorial Associate
Marion Armstrong	Administrative Assistant
Barry Greenberg	Research Assistant

Special Short Term Assignments by

Paula Caplan, James Collins, Diana Cook, James Drake, Dora Hershon, Mildred Huberman, William Johnson, Ruth Jutson, Rosalind Kalb, Marguerite Manning, Paul Mok, Beverly Nerenberg, Jane Wagner, Vera Weisz, and Leontine Zimiles

Consultants for Phase One of the Study

Esin Kaya	Associate Professor of Educational Administration New York University
Barry Smith	Research Fellow, Department of Psychology University of Massachusetts

Consultant-Observers for Phase Two of the Study

Lawrence T. Alexander	Professor, Michigan State University
LeRoy Bowman	Professor Emeritus, Brooklyn College
George W. Denemark	Dean, School of Education University of Kentucky
M. Karl Openshaw	Dean, School of Education Sacramento State College
Donald E. Wilson	Director, Teacher Education University of Southern California

Other Assistants

Lance Eastman, Romano Fabris, Michael Gohring, Opal Palmer, Barbara Pushkin, Jonathan Rapoport, and Frankie Winnette

APPENDIX III

DEMONSTRATION TRAINING PROGRAMS THE STUDY OF AUXILIARY PERSONNEL IN EDUCATION

PHASE ONE

A PROJECT IN THE PREPARATION OF AUXILIARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL
Ball State University
Muncie, Indiana
Richard Alexander, Director

TEACHER EDUCATION AND PARENT TEACHER-AIDES IN A CULTURALLY DIFFERENT COMMUNITY–1966-67
Berkeley Unified School District
Berkeley, California
Jerome Gilbert, Director

PILOT PROGRAM TO TRAIN TEACHER-AIDES
Detroit Public Schools
Division of Special Projects
Detroit, Michigan
Martin Kalish, Director

AN INTEGRATED TRAINING INSTITUTE FOR AUXILIARY PERSONNEL IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION
Garland Junior College
Boston, Massachusetts
Vera C. Weisz, Director

THE COMMUNITY TESTING OF AN EXPERIMENTAL TRAINING MODEL: THE NEW CAREERS TRAINING PROJECT
Institute for Youth Studies
Howard University
Washington, D.C.
William H. Denham, Director

A COMBINATION THEORY-ACTION INSTITUTE FOR SIMULTANEOUS TRAINING OF TEACHERS AND AUXILIARY PERSONNEL FOR EFFECTIVE SERVICE IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED IN MISSISSIPPI
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi
Lotti Thornton, Director

A PROJECT TO TRAIN TEACHER-AIDES
New York University
School of Education
New York, N.Y. Harold Robbins, Director

A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT FOR THE PREPARATION OF AUXILIARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL IN COOPERATION WITH AN NDEA INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY FOR THE TRAINING OF ADMINISTRATORS AND TEACHERS TO WORK WITH DISADVANTAGED NAVAHO CHILDREN
Northern Arizona University
College of Education
Flagstaff, Arizona John L. Gray, Director

A PROJECT TO TRAIN TEENAGE YOUTH AS TEACHER-AIDES TO WORK WITH PRE SCHOOL CHILDREN IN APPALACHIA AND HELP UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TO PERCEIVE THEIR FUNCTION
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio Albert Leep, Director

A PROJECT TO PREPARE TEACHER-AIDES FOR WORKING WITH DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN
Department of Instruction
San Juan Regional Office
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico Ramon Cruz, Director

A PROJECT TO TRAIN AND DEMONSTRATE THE ROLE OF NONPROFESSIONALS IN EDUCATION
University of California Extension
University of California
Riverside, California James R. Hartley, Director

A PROJECT TO TRAIN AUXILIARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL (TEACHER-AIDES) IN CONNECTION WITH AN NDEA INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY FOR TEACHERS OF DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN
University of Maine
Orono, Maine John Lindlof, Director

TEACHER-ASSISTANT TRAINING PROGRAM
FOR HEAD START PROJECT
OEO Training and Development Center
San Fernando Valley State College
Northridge, California
Donald R. Thomas, Director

A NEW PROJECT TO TRAIN MIGRANTS
FOR NONPROFESSIONAL JOBS
(TEACHER-AIDES)
University of South Florida
Center of Continuing Education
St. Petersburg, Florida
Darrell Erickson, Director

A PROGRAM TO TRAIN AUXILIARY
SCHOOL PERSONNEL AS FAMILY AIDES
Southern Illinois University
Delinquency Study and
Youth Development Project
East St. Louis, Illinois
Naomi Le B. Naylor, Director

PHASE TWO

PROGRAM FOR UTILIZING PARENTS
AS AUXILIARY PERSONNEL IN A
CULTURALLY DIFFERENT COMMUNITY–
1967-68
Columbus University Laboratory School
Berkeley, California
Jerome H. Gilbert, Director

CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROJECT
FOR AUXILIARY PERSONNEL
Five public schools in target area
Detroit, Michigan
Aileen Selick, Director

TEACHER-AIDE PROGRAM IN
EASTERN KENTUCKY
Morehead State University
Teacher-Aide Program
Eastern Kentucky
Milan Dady, Director

AUXILIARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL
PROGRAM IN NORTHEASTERN MAINE
St. John Valley, Maine
John Lindlof, Director

PILOT PROGRAM USING PARENTS AS
READING ASSISTANTS IN FOUR
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE
LOWER EAST SIDE OF MANHATTAN
District No. 3, Board of Education
New York, New York
Richard Kramer, Director

APPENDIX IV

GRAPHIC PRESENTATIONS OF PROGRAM DATA

		BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
INVOLVEMENT IN PLANNING																
	School System	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨
	Inst. Higher Learning	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	Community Action Agency				▨			▨		▨		▨			▨	▨
	Other[1]				▨	▨			▨		▨			▨	▨	
SETTING																
Substantive Program	Elementary School	▨	▨	▨				▨					▨			
	High School			▨		▨					▨		▨	▨		
	College or University	▨			▨		▨		▨	▨				▨	▨	▨
	Other[2]	▨				▨						▨				
Practicum or Work Experience	Elem. School	▨	▨	▨		▨		▨	▨		▨		▨		▨	▨
	High School			▨									▨	▨		
	University						▨									
	Other[3]				▨					▨		▨				
TYPE OF TRAINING																
	"Institute-Type"			▨	▨		▨	▨	▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	
	On-the-Job	▨	▨			▨				▨		▨				▨

	DURATION OF TRAINING (NUMBER OF WEEKS)	BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
Auxiliaries	4 weeks						▨									
	5 4	▨		▨												
	6				▨				▨				▨		▨	
	8							▨			▨			▨		
	9		▨													
	10											▨				
	16															▨
	40					▨										
	46									▨						
Teacher-Trainees	4						▨									
	5 5	▨														
	6			▨					▨				▨	▨		
	8										▨					
	9		▨													
	10											▨				
	16															▨

PARTICIPANTS			BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
Type		Auxiliaries[a]	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
		Teachers	▨	▨	▨			▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨
		Administrators	▨					▨		▨					▨		▨
		Univ. Students									▨						
		Jr. H.S. Students												▨			
Number	Auxiliaries	20 - 29					▨	▨							▨		
		30 - 39														▨	
		40 - 50	▨	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨		▨	▨	▨			▨
		Over 50									▨						
	Teachers	Under 30		▨				▨						▨	▨		▨
		30 - 50			▨					▨		▨					
		Over 50	▨										▨				
	Admin.	Under 10						▨									▨
		10 and over	▨							▨					▨		

		BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
GRADE LEVELS WITH WHICH AUXILIARIES WORKED																
	Pre-Kindergarten			▨	▨			▨		▨		▨				
	Kindergarten		▨	▨		▨		▨								▨
	1 - 3	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨		▨		▨	▨
	4 - 6	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	▨
	7 - 8 - 9			▨					▨				▨	▨		
	H.S.			▨												
CHARACTERISTICS OF AUXILIARIES																
Age	**15 - 19**				▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨
	20 - 29	▨	▨		▨		▨	▨	▨			▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	30 - 39	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨	▨			▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	40 - 49	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨				▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	50 - 59		▨				▨	▨					▨			
Sex	**Male**					▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			
	Female	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Race	**Caucasian**	▨	▨		▨			▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	Negro	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨
	American Indian								▨							
Ethnic Group	**Puerto Ricans**							▨			▨					
	Mexican-Americans											▨	▨		▨	

	CRITERIA IN THE SELECTION OF AUXILIARIES	BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
Age Minimum	18		▨													
	21	▨					▨							▨		
	Evidence of Good Health	▨		▨	▨			▨		▨	▨			▨	▨	
Education Min. Requirements	6th Grade		▨						▨							
	8th Grade						▨	▨								
	11th Grade[7]				▨	▨				▨						
	H.S. Graduate[8]	▨		▨							▨			▨	▨	
Role in Family	Mother of School Children		▨											▨		
Economic Status	Poverty Level or Below	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	Middle Income				▨											▨
Employment	Unemployed	▨	▨				▨		▨			▨	▨			▨
	Under-Employed	▨	▨				▨		▨						▨	▨
Disadvantaged Community	Residence	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨				▨
	Knowledge	▨		▨											▨	▨
	Previous Employment in Public School			▨				▨								
	Other[9]					▨			▨					▨		▨

		BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
CRITERIA IN THE SELECTION OF AUXILIARIES (continued)																
Personality Variables	Interest in Working With Children	▨	▨	▨	▨				▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	Interest in the Program & Learning	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨	▨					▨
	Ability to Work With Community & Others	▨	▨		▨			▨								▨
	Leadership Potential						▨	▨					▨			
	Evidence of Self-Improvement	▨		▨	▨						▨			▨	▨	▨
	Evidence of Maturity & Stability	▨		▨	▨			▨	▨		▨		▨			▨
	Ability in the English Language			▨				▨								▨
	Character Reference				▨			▨	▨							▨
	Other[10]					▨	▨	▨					▨			
FUNCTIONS FOR WHICH AUXILIARY PARTICIPANTS WERE TRAINED																
Ind. & Group Help to Children Under Supervision		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	
Remedial Work		▨									▨		▨	▨	▨	
Operation of Audio-Visual Equipment		▨	▨	▨		▨		▨	▨			▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Clerical, Record Keeping, Homework, Etc.		▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨	▨
Monitorial									▨					▨		▨
Custodial: Yard, Lunch-Room			▨		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨
Preparation of Materials		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Liaison with Community & Parents			▨	▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Supplementary Services: Science, Music, Art, Library				▨	▨		▨	▨		▨			▨			
Health Aide				▨		▨										

INSTRUCTIONAL CONTENT FOR AUXILIARY-PARTICIPANTS

			BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
Understandings		Child Development	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
		Learning-Teaching Process	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
		Group Process		▨	▨					▨					▨		▨
		Human Relations			▨	▨		▨		▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
		Family and Community		▨	▨	▨			▨	▨	▨		▨	▨		▨	▨
		School Organization	▨	▨	▨				▨	▨			▨				▨
Curriculum Areas		All	▨		▨				▨	▨		▨				▨	
		Art				▨	▨	▨			▨		▨	▨			
		Music				▨	▨	▨			▨		▨	▨			
		Health & Physical Education					▨				▨		▨	▨		▨	
		Science				▨	▨				▨			▨			
		Drama												▨	▨		
		Math					▨							▨			
Skills	Basic	Reading	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨				▨	▨			▨	▨	▨
		Communication & Lang. Art	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	
	Clerical	Typing						▨							▨	▨	
		Other						▨	▨							▨	▨
	Educat Methods	Class Meetings	▨	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨		▨	▨	▨		▨	
		English as 2nd Language								▨		▨					
		Use of Audio-Visual Equipment	▨	▨	▨			▨	▨	▨	▨					▨	
		Use of Curriculum Materials			▨	▨				▨		▨	▨	▨		▨	

INSTRUCTIONAL PROCESS FOR AUXILIARY-PARTICIPANTS		BALL STATE	BERKELEY	DETROIT	GARLAND	HOWARD	JACKSON	NEW YORK U.	N. ARIZONA	OHIO U.	PUERTO RICO	SAN FERNANDO	U. OF CALIFORNIA	U. OF MAINE	U. OF S. FLORIDA	U. OF S. ILLINOIS
Work Experience or Practicum	Yes	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	No															
Substantive Seminars	Yes			▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨
	No	▨	▨										▨			
Lectures	Yes	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨
	No		▨										▨			
Field Trips	Yes				▨	▨	▨		▨	▨		▨		▨		
	No	▨	▨	▨				▨			▨		▨		▨	▨
Counseling Type	Individual			▨	▨					▨			▨	▨	▨	
	Small Groups		▨			▨	▨	▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	Whole Group				▨						▨		▨			▨
Counseling Content	Role & Relationships		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨		▨		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
	Personal Needs		▨		▨	▨	▨			▨			▨	▨	▨	▨
	Vocational				▨	▨		▨		▨	▨			▨	▨	▨
	Educational				▨	▨				▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	
Teamwork	Team from same School Training Together	▨	▨				▨									
	Team Planning			▨							▨		▨	▨		

NOTES ON GRAPHIC PRESENTATION

1. **Involvement in Planning (Other)**

Day Care Services–*Garland Junior College*
Bureau of Indian Affairs–*Northern Arizona University*
Youth Opportunity Center from Department of Labor–*Puerto Rico*
Teachers' Association–*University of Maine*
Department of Health and Welfare–*University of Maine*

State Board of Health–*University of South Florida*
State Department of Public Welfare–*University of South Florida*

2. **Setting–Substantive Program (Other)**

   Meetings in Education Building in Gary, Indiana; inservice meetings in Indianapolis and Muncie, Indiana, held in local schools and Service Centers–*Ball State University*
   Phillips Temple CME Church–*San Fernando Valley State College*
   Meetings in church–*Howard University*

3. **Setting–Experiential (Other)**

   Day Camp–*Garland Junior College*
   Head Start Centers–*Ohio University*
   Head Start Center–*San Fernando Valley State College*

4. **Duration of Training–Auxiliaries**

Gary–pre and inservice–3 weeks	*Ball State University* (Through Dec. '66)
Muncie–inservice–1 week	
Indianapolis–inservice–1 week	
Indianapolis–preservice for teachers–2 days	

5. **Duration of Training–Teacher-Trainees**

   The cooperating teachers had an orientation program once a month–*Howard University*

6. **Participants–Type of Auxiliaries**

   Senior high school in 3rd and 4th tracks of Cardozo High School–*Howard University*

7. **Education–Minimum Requirements**

   Had to complete 11th grade but had to be enrolled in the 12th grade and will receive a diploma at end of this year (1967)–*Howard University*

8. **Education–Minimum Requirements**

   Muncie required two years post secondary education–*Ball State University*
   High School graduate or preparing for H.S. Equivalency Examination–*University of Maine*

9. **Criteria in Selection of Auxiliaries (Other)**

   2/3 of aides in 4th track; 1/3 in 3rd track in Cardozo High School which is part of Model School Division of Washington, D.C. School System serving a disadvantaged area–*Howard University*
   Must be American Indian–*Northern Arizona University*
   Must have received aid for dependent children–*University of Maine*
   Scores on 7th grade reading level–Nelson Reading Test, Ises Test Battery–Nursery School Teachers–*Southern Illinois University*

10. **Criteria–Personality Variable (Other)**

    Must be a school dropout–*Jackson State College*
    Must show compassion for disadvantaged youth–*New York University*
    Must agree to refrain from using physical force–*University of California Extension*

11. Trained in the use of all office machines as well as audio visual equipment–*New York University*

12. Planned for but not always achieved–*Berkeley United School District*

APPENDIX V

ACTIVITY SHEET

This instrument was administered to auxiliary trainees, teacher trainees, and the instructional staff of each project.

To be filled in by Project Staff:
Form I–Please check one:
Preservice .....
Inservice ......

A Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education

Please check one:
Form I A ..... B ..... C .....
first time second time third time

ACTIVITY SHEET

Name: ....
(last) (first) (initial)
Project: ....
Dates of Operation: from .... to ....
Grade levels of pupils with whom you will work: ....
Type of job for which you are training:
Assistant Teacher ....
Teacher Aide ....
Family Assistant ....
Family Aide or Worker ....
Secretarial Assistant ....
School Aide ....
Other ....
(If "Other," write in the type of work you expect to do)

Attached is a list of some activities. Beside each item, CHECK the column on the left which best describes how helpful this particular activity seems to you when performed by an aide, and also CHECK the column on the right which best describes how often you believe you will do this particular activity in the school where you expect to work or are working. If the activity does not fit the grade level of the pupils with whom you will or do work, you would check it as NEVER LIKELY TO BE DONE by you on the job.

Example:
Below, please practice by checking the following item which does not appear in the attached form. Discuss this exercise with the person who is showing you how to fill out this form.

....

HOW *HELPFUL* TO THE PUPILS AND THE SCHOOL DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE IF AN AIDE DID THIS?	**(Please CHECK each item on both left and right hand sides, before checking next item.)**	**HOW OFTEN DO YOU BELIEVE YOU ARE LIKELY TO DO THIS ON THE JOB?**

....

Very helpful	Somewhat helpful	Somewhat harmful	Very harmful	ACTIVITIES	Most of the time	Often	Seldom	Never
				Printing a pupil's name on his photograph				

HOW HELPFUL TO THE PUPILS AND THE SCHOOL DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE IF AN AIDE* DID THIS?				(Please CHECK each item on both left and right hand sides, before checking next item.)	HOW OFTEN DO YOU BELIEVE YOU ARE LIKELY TO DO THIS ON THE JOB?**			
Very Helpful	Somewhat Helpful	Somewhat Harmful	Very Harmful	ACTIVITIES	Most of the Time	Often	Seldom	Never
				1. Playing games with pupils (such as rhyming games, guessing games, finger games).				
				2. Giving most attention to the pupils whom you***know best.				
				3. Interesting a restless pupil in some of the available activities.				
				4. Preparing audio-visual materials such as charts at the request of the teacher.				
				5. Typing.				
				6. Helping pupils learn how to settle arguments without fighting.				
				7. Making exceptions to rules where you*** believe them to be wrong.				
				8. Stopping pupils from fighting.				
				9. Comforting and supporting a pupil who feels he has been treated unfairly by the teacher.				
				10. Listening to pupils talk about themselves.				
				11. Keeping pupils who talk slowly and hesitantly from wasting the class's time.				
				12. Talking with pupils about what they're doing when they are playing.				
				13. Listening to a pupil tell a story.				
				14. Operating equipment such as movie projector, slide projector, tape recorder.				
				15. Checking daily on the health of pupils.				
				16. Putting away pupils' toys and materials.				
				17. Putting on and taking off all outdoor clothing of young children for them.				

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* Or other auxiliary personnel such as assistant teacher.

** Professional personnel who check this sheet should substitute "the type of aide you are working with is" for "you are" in this question.

*** Professional personnel who check this sheet should substitute "the aide knows" for "you know ".

**** Professional personnel who check this sheet should substitute "the aide" for "you ".

				18. Giving first aid to a pupil.				
				19. Helping teachers take care of pupils in assembly.				
				20. Washing a pupil's mouth out with soap when he swears.				
				21. Talking quietly with a pupil who is upset.				
				22. Guarding doors of school.				
				23. Taking charge of a small group which is working on a special project while the teacher works with another group.				
				24. Finishing a slow pupil's work for him.				
				25. Taking a small group of pupils on a walk in the neighborhood.				
				26. Taking pupils to and from various places in school (such as lunchroom, nurse's office, principal's office, bathroom).				
				27. Preparing the questions on tests for the pupils to answer.				
				28. Preparing bulletin board displays.				
				29. Filing and cataloging materials.				
				30. Deciding what pupils need to do in classroom.				
				31. Acting out stories with pupils.				
				32. Planning the homework assignments for pupils.				
				33. Reading and telling stories to pupils.				
				34. Running a duplicating machine.				
				35. Deciding which pupils will need to work together in a reading group.				
				36. Explaining school rules to pupils.				
				37. Keeping records, such as attendance and health records.				

				38. Taking groups of children on a trip.				
				39. Deciding what trips pupils will take during the term.				
				40. Taking charge of pupils at various occasions, such as: during lunch period, in hallways and on bus.				
				41. Helping a teacher plan trips with pupils.				
				42. Deciding what a pupil should study.				
				43. Helping pupils learn how to use the bathroom.				
				44. Helping pupils learn proper use of tools and equipment.				
				45. Helping a pupil use a teaching machine.				
				46. Telling a misbehaving pupil what you really think of him.				
				47. Seeing that a pupil eats all of his lunch.				
				48. Telling a pupil what happened when he was absent.				
				49. Helping pupils move from one activity to another in the classroom.				
				50. Checking playground equipment for safety.				
				51. Taking home pupils who are sick or hurt.				
				52. Teaching pupils a subject (such as history, chemistry, arithmetic or reading).				
				53. Singing with a group of pupils.				
				54. Helping pupils get ready to put on an assembly program (such as making costumes, making scenery, listening to pupils rehearse).				
				55. Taking notes at meetings when asked.				
				56. Helping young children learn to use crayons, scissors, paste, and paint.				
				57. Attending meetings with teachers.				

				58. Spanking pupils for misbehavior.				
				59. Showing pupils how to clean up and put away materials.				
				60. Taking charge of the class when the teacher is sick for a considerable period of time, perhaps several days or a week.				
				61. Making arrangements for the use of equipment.				
				62. Helping pupil understand teacher's directions.				
				63. Checking supplies.				
				64. "Covering up" for children who cheat.				
				65. Playing a musical instrument for the pupils.				
				66. Collecting milk money, money for lunch tickets or other needs.				
				67. Helping pupils improve special skills (such as in gym, or sewing, or dancing).				
				68. Helping pupils improve their manners.				
				69. Weighing and measuring a pupil.				
				70. Lending a pupil money when asked.				
				71. Doing errands and carrying messages.				
				72. Passing out and collecting pupils' materials.				
				73. Encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves.				
				74. Sorting mail.				
				75. Helping teacher maintain a completely quiet classroom.				
				76. Helping a pupil learn to do something new and perhaps a little more difficult than he thinks he can do.				
				77. Helping prepare and serve food.				

				78. Feeding classroom pets.				
				79. Taking charge of a class while the teacher has a rest period.				
				80. Writing down what a pupil is doing.				
				81. Keeping a record of how a group of pupils work or play together.				
				82. Watering plants.				
				83. Giving a pupil a chance to show he can do something well.				
				84. Encouraging pupils to help each other.				
				85. Getting the classroom ready for the next day.				
				86. Deciding who should stay after school.				
				87. Helping pupils learn to play together (such as teaching them to take turns, share toys and other materials).				
				88. Organizing outdoor activities for class.				
				89. Watching pupils from back of classroom to prevent unruly behavior.				
				90. Helping a pupil look up information in a book.				
				91. Checking on temperature, fresh air and lighting in the classroom.				
				92. Helping pupils pick out books in the library.				
				93. Helping a teacher make arrangements for a trip.				
				94. Taking responsibility for class for a few minutes when teacher is called away.				
				95. Giving the teacher information about a pupil which will help the teacher in working with him.				
				96.				
				97.				

APPENDIX VI

FINDINGS FROM ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE AND CORRELATION MATRIX

The evaluation design was conceived as essentially descriptive and developmental, with emphasis on process analysis. At the same time there was an attempt to discover relationships between independent and dependent variables which required statistical treatment of the data, both for the overall Study and for individual projects.

Two independent variables were identified: 1) personal characteristics of and demographic data concerning the auxiliary-trainees; and 2) aspects of the training program which differ from project to project.

The dependent variable of success in the program was measured primarily by role perceptions before and after training. In a successful program, it is hypothesized, the role perceptions of auxiliary-trainees and of the instructional staff will be more similar at the end of the training program than they were at the beginning. However, in order that the dependent variable be operationalized somewhat more directly, the instructors' evaluation of each trainee at the end of the program was also considered as a measure of success.

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE

The Study indicates how differences in projects caused differences in role perceptions on the part of the auxiliaries. An examination of the findings of the analysis for projects in Detroit, Jackson, and Maine illuminates this point. For example, in Jackson, the teachers and staff seemed closer in their perceptions of helpful activities than either group to the auxiliaries. This datum may be explained by the fact that both teachers and staff in Jackson came from the college community, but the auxiliaries were recruited from rural areas. In Detroit and Maine, the teachers and auxiliaries seemed closer to each other in their perceptions of "helpful" than either group to the staff. In both these projects, there was review of each practicum experience by the teacher-auxiliary team which is a possible reason for consensus. This finding does not apply to the frequency of the activities. In Jackson, there was no difference among the three groups in their perceptions of how often certain activities would be performed by the auxiliaries.

In Jackson and Maine, significant F-ratios were obtained for the difference between perceptions before and after training. In Detroit, no significant pre-post differences were observed with regard to the helpfulness of activities. Possible causative factors for this discrepancy may be that both Maine and Jackson auxiliary-trainees were from rural areas (Maine Caucasian and Mississippi black) and had never had experience as an aide to a professional before. Both groups of auxiliaries were inclined to be somewhat modest, not to say timid, about the responsibilities they expected to assume in a classroom. In both these programs, the auxiliaries expressed delight at being trained to perform in helpful and meaningful roles. The beneficial effect upon the self-image of the auxiliaries was particularly apparent in these projects.

In Detroit, on the other hand, the auxiliaries (predominantly black) came from an urban setting and had been hand-picked from among the school aides already employed by the public school system. They were selected because they appeared to have potential for upward mobility from school-aide to teaching assistant. The Detroit auxiliaries were aware of this criterion for selection, and they had high anticipation of developing the capacity to perform responsible classroom functions.

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE AUXILIARIES' PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND THE SUCCESS CRITERIA

The process of "washing out" significant individual project variations appeared to be operative when the auxiliaries' personal characteristics were considered in relation to success in the training programs. A correlation matrix on a cross project basis revealed no overall pattern for predicting probable success of trainees in accordance with personal characteristics and demographic data. An examination of an individual project, however, indicated that trainees from a low socio-economic background responded more slowly to the training opportunities than those from a middle-class background. In the Garland program, for example, selection had been planned to insure racially integrated groups of both middle and lower socio-economic background. In this cross-class, cross-cultural project, the middle-class trainees, both Caucasian and black, scored higher in terms of the established success criteria than did the lower-class trainees of both races.

Nevertheless, when all variables in personal characteristics were intercorrelated, for all subjects from all projects, with the two success criteria– 1) achievement grade in the program, and 2) increase in mutuality of perception between auxiliaries and staff after training– neither of the success criteria correlated with any variable.

One explanation may be the lack of differentiation in the success criteria. It has been mentioned earlier that while the auxiliaries' patterns of role perception did, in fact, move slightly in the direction of the staff's patterns *after* training, the shift was not appreciable since there was considerable similarity in role perceptions between auxiliaries and staff even *before* training. Moreover, there was lack of differentiation in the achievement grades, since practically all the trainees completed the training program satisfactorily.

Despite the lack of differentiation, one major conclusion may be drawn from the correlation matrix, *namely that the difference among processes in the training programs are likely to have a greater effect on success in the program than the personal characteristic of the auxiliary-trainee.*

APPENDIX VII

COMPOSITE SCORES FOR ALL PROJECTS RE: AIDES' PERCEPTION OF THE HELPFULNESS OF SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES IN DESCENDING ORDER FOR POST-TEST

Note: The composite scores for the fifteen projects were computed by: 1) securing a weighted proportional frequency score for each project; 2) arranging these scores in rank-order; 3) assigning a value of 95 to rank 1, 94 to rank 2, 93 to rank 3, etc.; 4) summing the values of all projects for each item, e.g., the item with the largest composite score had a value of 92 for Ball State, 94 for Berkeley, 58 for Howard University, 76 for Ohio, 72 for San Fernando Valley Center A, 93 for Center B, 82 for Southern Illinois, 81 for Detroit, 87 for Garland, 92 for Jackson State, 90 for Maine, 70 for N.Y.U., 85 for Arizona, 81 for Puerto Rico, 82 for Florida, and 95 for Riverside.

Cluster and Sub-Cluster	Item Description	Pre-Test	Post-Test	D
I -Cognitive	Taking charge of a small group which is working on a special project while the teacher works with another group	1356	1330	-26
II -Clerical	Preparing A.V. materials such as charts at the request of the teacher	1168	1242	+74
I -Affective	Helping pupils learn how to settle arguments without fighting	1368	1233	-135
I -Cognitive	Playing games with pupils (such as rhyming games, guessing games, finger games)	1197	1224	+27
II -General	Preparing bulletin board displays	1129	1190	+61
III -Teacher Function	Stopping pupils from fighting (rationale: teacher usually decides when this is necessary)	1279	1189	+10
I -Affective	Talking quietly with a pupil who is upset	1209	1182	-27
I -Affective	Interesting a restless pupil in some of the available activities	1288	1179	-109
II -Clerical	Keeping records, such as attendance and health records	1162	1166	+4
II -Monitorial	Taking charge of pupils at various occasions, such as: during lunch period, in hallways and on bus	1201	1157	-44
III -Teacher Function	Taking responsibility for class for a few minutes when the teacher is called away	1128	1155	+27

Cluster and Sub-Cluster	Item Description	Pre-Test	Post-Test	D
I -Affective-Cognitive	Listening to a pupil tell a story	1177	1154	-23
I -Affective	Giving a pupil a chance to show he can do something well	1149	1149	0
II -Monitorial	Helping teachers take care of pupils in assembly	1295	1148	-147
I -Cognitive	Reading and telling stories to pupils	1170	1130	-40
II -General	Passing out and collecting pupils' materials	862	1125	+263
I -Affective	Helping pupils learn to play together (such as teaching them to take turns, share toys and other materials	1207	1120	-87
I -Affective	Encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves	937	1093	+156
I -Cognitive	Helping young children learn to use crayons, scissors, paste, and paint	1176	1077	-99
II -Technical	Helping pupils learn proper use of tools and equipment	1069	1072	+3
I -Affective	Encouraging pupils to help each other	1105	1072	-33
I -Cognitive	Singing with a group of pupils	1019	1056	+37
II -Technical	Operating equipment such as movie projector, slide projector, tape recorder	968	1055	+87
II -Technical	Running a duplicating machine	883	1052	+169
I -Cognitive	Showing pupils how to clean up and put away materials	1091	1037	-54
I -Affective-Cognitive	Helping pupil understand teacher's directions	979	1030	+51
I -Affective	Helping pupils improve their manners	1051	1019	-32
II -General	Helping pupils get ready to put on an assembly program (such as making costumes, making scenery, listening to pupils rehearse)	894	1014	+120

Cluster and Sub-Cluster	Item Description	Pre-Test	Post-Test	D
II -General	Getting the classroom ready for the next day	960	1913	+53
II -Technical	Checking playground equipment for safety	1045	1000	-45
I -Affective	Listening to pupils talk about themselves	1062	998	-64
I -Affective	Acting out stories with pupils	934	988	+54
I -Affective-Cognitive	Explaining school rules to pupils	993	966	-27
II -Clerical	Filing and cataloguing materials	919	966	+47
I -Affective-Cognitive	Giving the teacher information about a pupil which will help the teacher in working with him	1171	955	-216
II -Escorting	Taking pupils to and from various places in school (such as lunchroom, nurse's office, principal's office, bathroom)	940	949	+9
II -Technical	Checking supplies	841	913	+72
I -Cognitive	Helping a teacher plan trips with pupils	922	885	-37
II -Clerical	Taking notes at meetings when asked	1089	833	-206
I -Cognitive	Helping a teacher make arrangements for a trip	780	882	+102
II -Physical	Checking daily on the health of pupils	1090	873	-217
I -Cognitive	Helping a pupil look up information in a book	833	861	-22
II -Physical	Checking on temperature, fresh air, and lighting in the classroom	814	844	+30
II -Monitorial	Taking groups of children on a trip	847	843	-4
II -General	Doing errands and carrying messages	651	838	+167
I -Cognitive	Helping pupils pick out books in the library	764	830	+66
I -Cognitive	Helping pupils learn how to use the bathroom	806	824	+18

Cluster and Sub-Cluster	Item Description	Pre-Test	Post-Test	D
II -Physical	Giving first aid to a pupil	952	821	-131
III -Teacher Function	Organizing outdoor activities for class	752	808	+56
II -General	Collecting milk money, money for lunch tickets or other needs	703	806	+103
I -Affective-Cognitive	Helping a pupil learn to do something new and perhaps a little more difficult than he thinks he can do	720	796	+76
II -Technical	Making arrangements for the use of equipment	841	778	-63
I -Cognitive	Attending meetings with teachers	748	760	+12
I -Affective	Helping pupils move from one activity to another in the classroom	740	755	+15
I -Cognitive	Helping pupils improve special skills (such as in gym, or sewing or dancing)	710	743	+33
I -Affective-Cognitive	Talking with pupils about what they're doing when they are playing	801	742	-59
I -Cognitive	Keeping a record of how a group of pupils work or play together	677	732	+65
II -General	Watering plants	664	717	+53
II -Monitorial	Watching pupils from back of classroom to prevent unruly behavior	621	695	+74
III -Poor Practice	Helping tacher maintain a completely quiet classroom	631	692	+61
II -Escorting	Taking home pupils who are sick or hurt	655	682	+27
II -Clerical	Typing	632	655	+33
II -Physical	Weighing and measuring a pupil	535	646	+111
I -Cognitive	Telling a pupil what happened when he was absent	628	638	+10
I -Cognitive	Playing a musical instrument for the pupils	457	632	+155

Cluster and Sub-Cluster	Item Description	Pre-Test	Post-Test	D
III -Teacher Function	Taking charge of a class while the teacher has a rest period	701	598	-103
I -Cognitive	Writing down what a pupil is doing	552	598	+46
I -Cognitive	Taking a small group of pupils on a walk in the neighborhood	717	587	-130
III -Teacher Function	Taking charge of the class when the teacher is sick for a considerable period of time, perhaps several days or a week	564	556	-8
II -General	Feeding classroom pets	476	532	+56
II -Clerical	Sorting mail	446	526	+80
II -Monitorial	Guarding doors of school	515	523	+8
III -Poor Practice	Seeing that a pupil eats all of his lunch	508	495	-13
II -Physical	Helping prepare and serve food	472	476	+4
III -Teacher Function	Deciding what trips pupils will take during the term	427	453	+26
III -Teacher Function	Teaching pupils a subject (such as history, chemistry, arithmetic, or reading)	439	451	+12
III -Poor Practice	Putting on and taking off all outdoor clothing of young children for them	442	445	+3
I -Cognitive	Helping a pupil use a teaching machine	405	433	+28
III -Teacher Function	Preparing the questions on tests for the pupils to answer	542	423	-119
III -Poor Practice	Putting away pupils' toys and materials	498	421	-77
III -Teacher Function	Deciding what pupils need to do in classroom	452	374	-78
III -Teacher Function	Deciding which pupils will need to work together in a reading group	473	354	-119
III -Teacher Function	Planning the homework assignments for pupils	422	335	-87

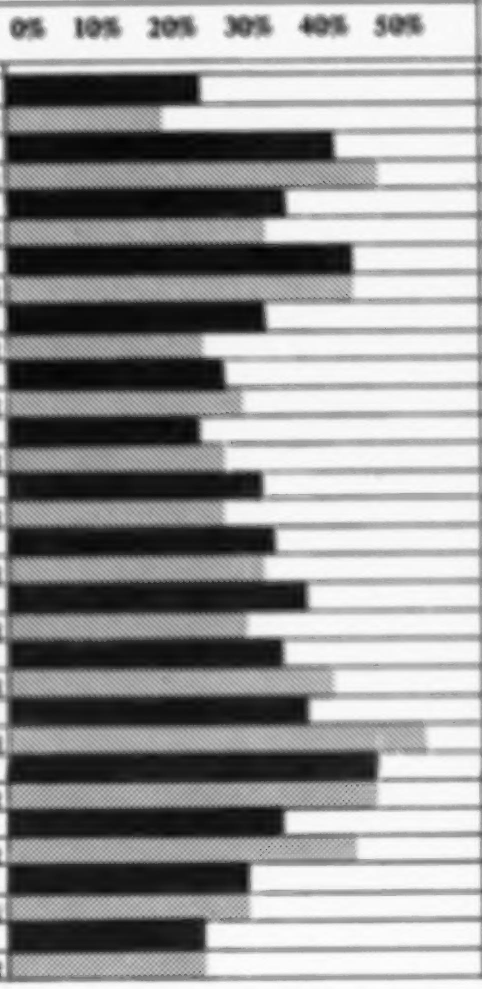
Cluster and Sub-Cluster	Item Description	Pre-Test	Post-Test	D
III -Poor Practice	Lending a pupil money when asked	226	279	+53
III -Teacher Function	Deciding who should stay after school	345	269	-76
III -Poor Practice	Keeping pupils who talk slowly and hesitantly from wasting the class's time	279	255	-24
III -Teacher Function	Deciding what a pupil should study	301	234	-67
III -Poor Practice	Spanking pupils for misbehavior	230	218	-12
III -Poor Practice	Making exceptions to rules where you believe them to be wrong	216	189	-27
III -Poor Practice	Giving most attention to the pupils whom you know best	170	162	-8
III -Poor Practice	Comforting and supporting a pupil who feels he has been treated unfairly by the teacher	219	146	-73
III -Poor Practice	Telling a misbehaving pupil what you really think of him	140	101	-39
III -Poor Practice	Finishing a slow pupil's work for him	165	92	-73
III -Poor Practice	"Covering up" for children who cheat	154	82	-72
III -Poor Practice	Washing a pupil's mouth out with soap when he swears	135	53	-82

APPENDIX VIII

CLUSTER ANALYSIS BY PROJECT

CLUSTER I ITEMS FAVORED BY AUXILIARIES BEFORE AND AFTER TRAINING IN INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

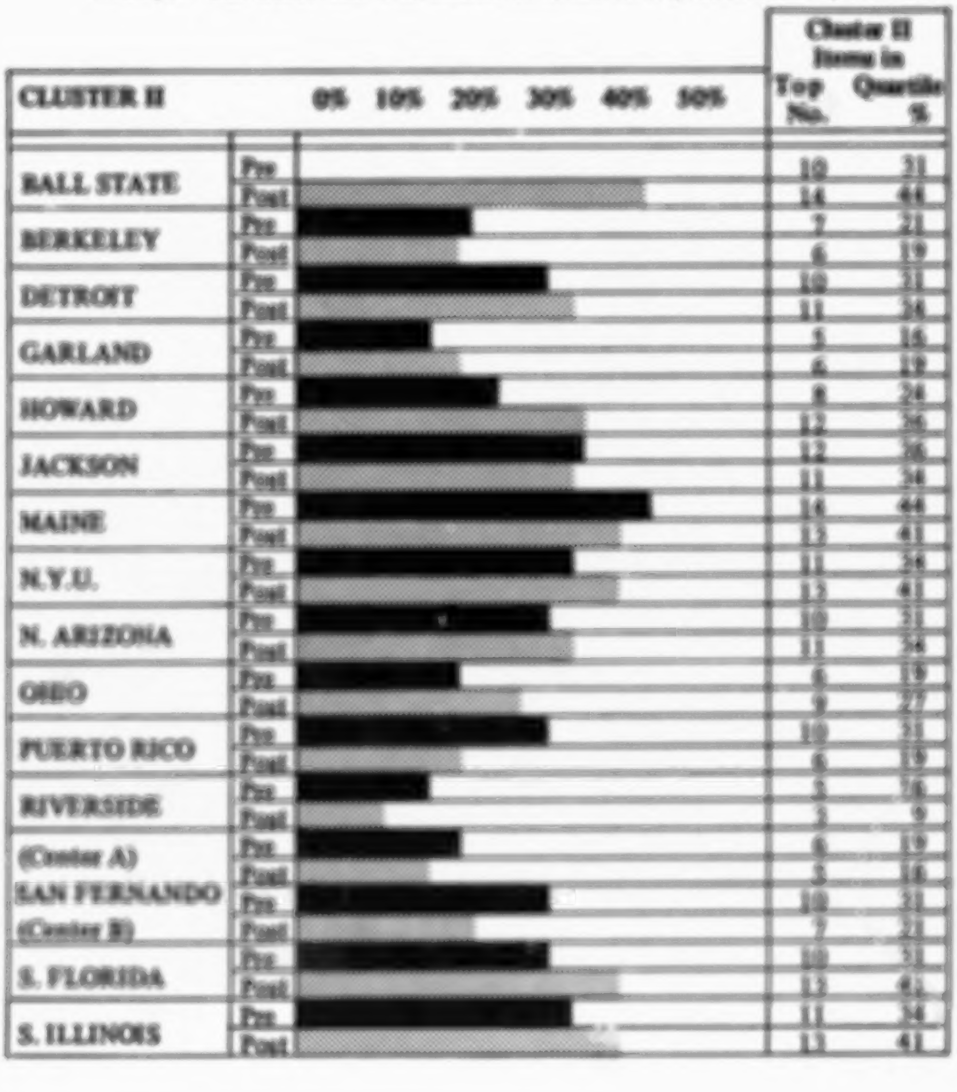
Note: Proportions Are Based on the Total Number of Cluster I Items—36. For example: Ball State Has Nine Cluster I Items in Top Quartile—9/36 = 25%.



CLUSTER I		Cluster I Items in Top Quartile No.	Cluster I Items in Top Quartile %
BALL STATE	Pre	9	25
	Post	7	19
BERKELEY	Pre	15	42
	Post	17	47
DETROIT	Pre	13	36
	Post	12	33
GARLAND	Pre	16	44
	Post	16	44
HOWARD	Pre	12	33
	Post	9	25
JACKSON	Pre	10	28
	Post	11	31
MAINE	Pre	9	25
	Post	10	28
N.Y.U.	Pre	12	33
	Post	10	28
N. ARIZONA	Pre	13	36
	Post	12	33
OHIO	Pre	14	39
	Post	11	31
PUERTO RICO	Pre	13	36
	Post	15	42
RIVERSIDE	Pre	14	39
	Post	19	53
(Center A) SAN FERNANDO (Center B)	Pre	17	47
	Post	17	47
	Pre	13	36
	Post	16	44
S. FLORIDA	Pre	11	31
	Post	11	31
S. ILLINOIS	Pre	9	25
	Post	9	25

CLUSTER II ITEMS FAVORED BY AUXILIARIES BEFORE AND AFTER TRAINING IN INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

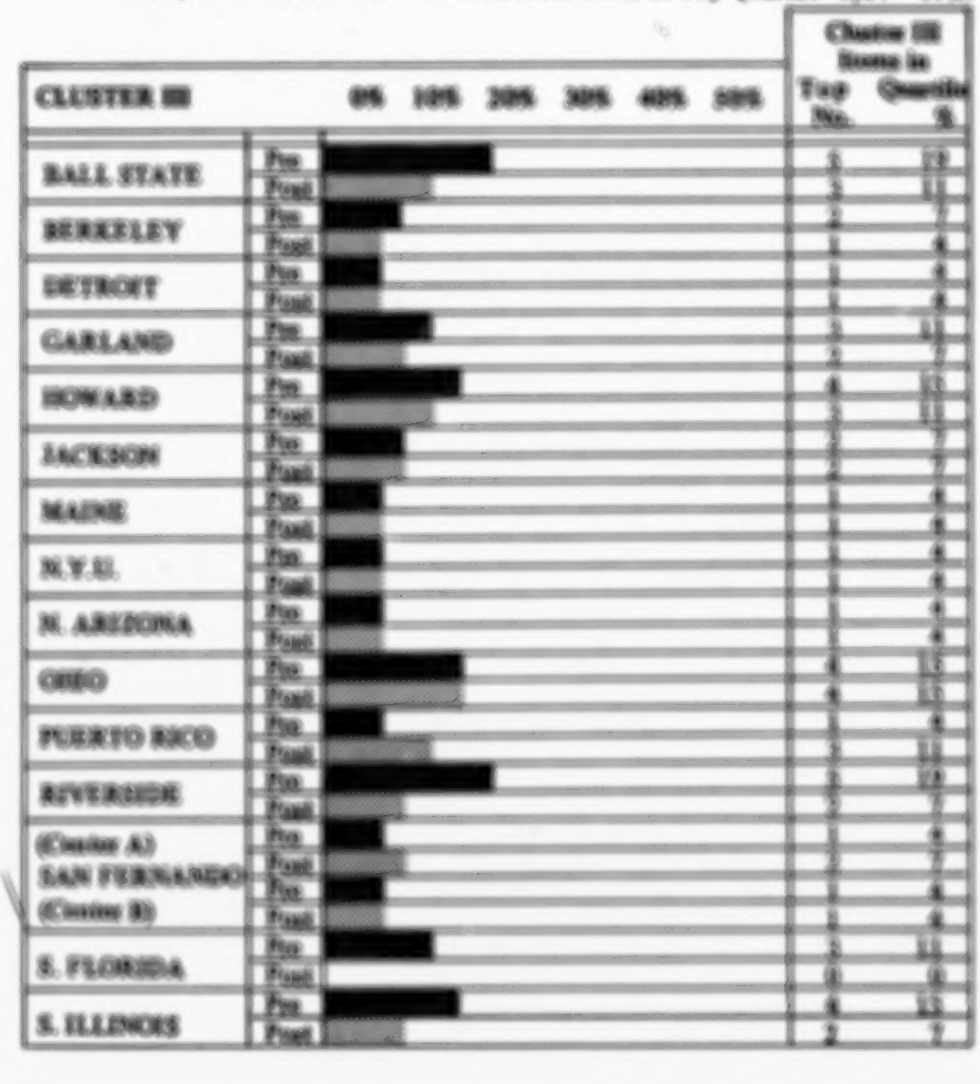
Note: Proportions Are Based on the Total Number of Cluster II Items—32. For Example: Ball State Has Ten Cluster II Items in Top Quartile—10/32 = 31%.



CLUSTER II		Cluster II Items in Top Quartile No.	%
BALL STATE	Pre	10	31
	Post	14	44
BERKELEY	Pre	7	21
	Post	6	19
DETROIT	Pre	10	31
	Post	11	34
GARLAND	Pre	5	16
	Post	6	19
HOWARD	Pre	8	24
	Post	12	36
JACKSON	Pre	12	36
	Post	11	34
MAINE	Pre	14	44
	Post	13	41
N.Y.U.	Pre	11	34
	Post	13	41
N. ARIZONA	Pre	10	31
	Post	11	34
OHIO	Pre	6	19
	Post	9	27
PUERTO RICO	Pre	10	31
	Post	6	19
RIVERSIDE	Pre	5	16
	Post	3	9
(Center A)	Pre	6	19
	Post	5	16
SAN FERNANDO (Center B)	Pre	10	31
	Post	7	21
S. FLORIDA	Pre	10	31
	Post	13	41
S. ILLINOIS	Pre	11	34
	Post	13	41

CLUSTER III ITEMS FAVORED BY AUXILIARIES BEFORE AND AFTER TRAINING IN INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

Note: Proportions Are Based on the Total Number of Cluster III Items—27. For Example: Ball State Has Five Cluster III Items in Top Quartile—5/27 = 19%.



CLUSTER III		Cluster III Items in Top Quartile No.	%
BALL STATE	Pre	5	19
	Post	3	11
BERKELEY	Pre	2	7
	Post	1	4
DETROIT	Pre	1	4
	Post	1	4
GARLAND	Pre	3	11
	Post	2	7
HOWARD	Pre	4	15
	Post	3	11
JACKSON	Pre	2	7
	Post	2	7
MAINE	Pre	1	4
	Post	1	4
N.Y.U.	Pre	1	4
	Post	1	4
N. ARIZONA	Pre	1	4
	Post	1	4
OHIO	Pre	4	15
	Post	4	15
PUERTO RICO	Pre	1	4
	Post	3	11
RIVERSIDE	Pre	5	19
	Post	2	7
(Cluster A) SAN FERNANDO	Pre	1	4
	Post	2	7
(Cluster B)	Pre	1	4
	Post	1	4
S. FLORIDA	Pre	3	11
	Post	0	0
S. ILLINOIS	Pre	4	15
	Post	2	7

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION FORM (Minute-by-Minute for 30 Minutes)

Class________________

Date________________

	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Time
	TEACHER																															
CONTENT																																
Instruction (assistance to)																																
Monitoring																																
Informal Activity																																
INTERACTION WITH PUPILS																																
Supervision																																
Reprimanding																																
Doing For																																
ROUTINE TASKS																																
Clerical Tasks																																
Managerial Tasks																																
INACTIVITY																																
TEACHER-AIDE INTERACTION																																
	AIDE																															
CONTENT																																
Instruction																																
Monitoring																																
Informal Activity																																
INTERACTION WITH PUPILS																																
Supervision																																
Reprimanding																																
Doing For																																
ROUTINE TASKS																																
Clerical Tasks																																
Managerial Tasks																																
INACTIVITY																																

VALUE QUESTIONNAIRE

Teacher-Aide Project Columbus

NAME____________________________ DATE____________

What do you think are the most valuable things that aides do? Below are some of the statements made during group interviews with aides and teachers. Will you select the *four* that you think have worked out in practice to be the *most* valuable ways in which aides have been helpful; mark these with a plus (+). Then, select the *four* that seem either least important or that do not apply to aides, and mark them with a zero (0). *Please be sure to mark four of each – no more, no less.*

AIDES ARE VALUABLE IN THE SCHOOL BECAUSE THEY . . .

_____1. Let the children know that "someone really cares."

_____2. Increase parents' contacts with the school.

_____3. Provide more individual attention in the classroom.

_____4. Improve the behavior of the children.

_____5. Have greater understanding of the children.

_____6. Provide the teacher wtih "an extra pair of hands."

_____7. Cause teachers to have higher expectations for the children.

_____8. Help parents in community to increase their understanding

_____9. Make possible more drill and homework assignments.

_____10. Help teachers to be more sensitive to the children.

_____11. Learn to cope with disturbed children.

_____12. See things in the classroom which the teacher misses.